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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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EDITORIAL.

Tuesday of last week was the Hebrew day of atonement. Some anarchistic Hebrews in Brooklyn proposed to emphasize their di-like for their old religion by making the most solemn night in its calendar a time of feasting and merry making. For this purpose they hired the Brooklyn labor lyceum, and announced an entertainment, to terminate with a supper and ball, in which John Most was to make a speech, the existence of God was to be denied, all government was to be denounced, and the ceremonies of the day of atonement parodied.

Some orthodox Hebrews, taking offence at this, applied to Judge Pratt of the supreme court for an injunction restraining the Labor lyceum from granting the use of their hall for the meeting. They were very properly refused. Thereupon, application was made to the mayor of Brooklyn, and under pretense of preventing a riot, the hall was surrounded with police and the meeting suppressed as effectually and as arbitrarily as could have been done in Germany or Russia.

That the great majority of the people of Brooklyn approve this action is doubtless true, and it is doubtless as true of the great majority of the people of the country. But this is all the more reason why it should not be suffered to pass without protest. The guarantees of liberty are not needed for majorities, but for minorities, and the more unpopular—whether justly or unjustly makes no difference—any set of men may be, the more scrupulously should their legal rights be respected.

The line is perfectly clear.

If men thrust obnoxious opinions on others; if they assault others with their opinions in places where those others have an equal right to be, they are beyond their right, and ought to be restrained or punished.

But in places where they have an exclusive right to be, and in presence only of those who chose to hear them, they are within their right in expressing their opinions, no matter how obnoxious those opinions may be to others—"being responsible," as the constitution of the state of New York has it, "for the abuse of that right."

In this case the anarchists were clearly within their right, as guaranteed by the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of New York. They did not propose to go out on the streets or into any place of general concourse to proclaim opinions obnoxious to others, but to express them in a hall to which they for that evening had the exclusive right; to which no one was called to go who did not wish to hear them, and to which even no one could go to hear them without paying for the privilege.

That they proposed to deny God, to revile the Hebrew religion, or to denounce government has nothing whatever to do with the matter. In a democratic state, where belief or disbelief is acknowledged to lie entirely within the jurisdiction of individual conscience and government draws its title only from the consent of the people, it is not the business of the magistrate to take care of God, to protect any form of religion, or to silence any objection to government that does not take the form of overt act. And the reason for this is to be seen in all the

annals of persecution, in all the records of oppressive tyrannies. Jewish persecution of Christians, Christian persecution of Jews, the suppression of anti-slavery meetings by pro-slavery mayors, had all the same motive and justification as the suppression of this anarchistic meeting.

What we of the American republic need most of all is a higher respect for the rights of the individual. For not only is it true that there is no real freedom where the rights of the minority are not respected, but it is also true that unless the rights of minorities are respected the rights of the majority cannot be long preserved.

And where our disregard of individual rights is carrying us, has been strikingly shown in the session of congress just closing. More openly and brazenly in this congress than ever before, our national government has become a means for the enrichment of the few by the plunder of the many; a medium through which the rich may buy authority to rob the poor. Faster than Henry VIII squandered the treasure of his father and the spoils of church and monastery has it squandered the surplus which onerous taxation had wrung from the American people. No courtiers of Ivan or Catherine begging grants of serfs, no parasites of James or Charles begging grants of monopolies, could have been more brazen in their demands than the trusts and combinations whose representatives have gathered in Washington this year, and none of them ever met with such "right royal liberality."

Saddled with a worse than useless navy, saddled with an expensive standing army, saddled with an enormous pension list, saddled with the purchase of the produce of silver barons in the vain attempt to raise the price of silver throughout the world, saddled with the buying up of bonds at high premiums and with the payment of interest before it is due, given up to be fleeced by all sorts of trusts, rings and monopolies, what more have citizens of the American republic to boast of than the subjects of kings.

It is perhaps well that the principle of "protection" has been carried to such monstrous lengths, for the reaction against it is likely to come quicker and go further. But this reaction can never reach firm ground until it comes to the single tax principle, the principle of the Declaration of Independence—the principle of inalienable natural rights pertaining to the individual, which can justly or safely be no more set aside by majorities than by monarchs. The right of free trade, like the right of free speech, is a right of the individual, a natural and inalienable right. It is involved in the right to work, which is involved in the right to life. And in carrying it to full expression by the abolition of all taxes on the methods or products of industry we shall reach practically the assertion of the most important and fundamental of all individual rights—the right to the equal use and enjoyment of land, the material bounty of the Creator to men; the physical means whereby His providence has ordained that they shall maintain their lives and fulfill their destiny.

It is this saving principle that the single tax men are carrying into American poli-

tics—the only principle that can make our country in reality, what in name we have foolishly claimed it to be—a free country.

Ralph E Hoyt of Los Angeles, president of the Illinois association, was, when I lectured in Los Angeles in January, a prominent nationalist. He has since become a single taxer. Though he hopes to come east later, Mr. Hoyt was unable to attend the single tax conference in New York, but sent a letter declaring his adhesion. This letter, being inclosed to me, was not opened in time to send to the conference. In it Mr. Hoyt says:

Land monopoly is the greatest curse of the nineteenth century. The single tax system offers the only relief from such monopoly, striking at the very root of the evil, which is private ownership in that which the great creator gave for the free use of all his creatures. Hence the single tax is the most explicit, practical, clearly defined reform movement of the age. Others contain much that is good, but this must come first. Others aim to palliate human evils. Apply the single tax, and the most prolific cause of poverty, misery and crime is removed.

The meanest part of our tariff, if one part of a scheme supported by appeals to the meanest of sentiments and prejudices can be said to be worse than another, is not the duty on works of art, but the duty assessed in the post office on any little book which a citizen of another country may send to a citizen of this country. This week I had to pay fifteen cents in one case and twenty-five cents in another. I grudge the money to the United States as I would to any pirate or sneak thief, but am glad to get the books even at the expense of the blackmail.

One of these books is a little volume of ballads and lyrics, by A. Werner—some of them evidently written in the United States and some in England—entitled "A Time and Time's." It contains "A Farewell" addressed to me on my leaving England for home in 1884, that I had not till now seen, and many little poems that have, what seems to me, the highest quality of true poetry, that of rousing the imagination. One of these, "The Battle Field, by Silenus," is of that field where at the beginning of the hopeless fight Spartacus, "the man from Thrace," the leader in the revolt of slaves that all but destroyed Rome, killed his war horse, and was found where he had sold his life dearly, among heaps of slain. Another, relating to the same event, is this:

IN A THEATER.

CAPUA, 72 B. C.

We were friends and comrades loyal, though I was of alien race,
And he a free born Samnite that followed the man from Thrace,
And there, in the mid-arena, he and I stood face to face.

I was a branded swordsman, and he was supple and strong.
They saved us alive from the battle, to do us this cruellest wrong,
That each should slay the other there before the staring throng.

Faces—faces—and faces! how it made my brain to spin!
Beautiful faces of women, and tiger souls therein!
And merry voices of girls that laughed, debating of who should win.

Over us, burning and cloudless, dazzled the blue sky's dome;
Far away to the eastward the white snow peaks of his home;
And in front, the Prefect, purple-clad, in the deadly might of Rome.

And so, in the mid-arena, we stood there face to face,
And he looked me right in the eyes and said:
"I ask thee one last grace—"

Slay me, for thee I cannot." Then I held his hand a space.

But knew not what I answered: the heavens round and wide
Surged up and down—a flash of steel—my sword was through his side,
And I was down upon my knees, and held him as he died.

His blood was warm on my fingers, his eyes were scarcely still,
When they tore him from me, and the blade that else had healed all ill.
And it is one more day I am theirs, to work their will.

No matter! the sand, and the sun, and the faces hateful to see,
They will be nothing—nothing! But I wonder who may be
The other man I have to fight—the man that shall kill me!

The other book is entitled "For og imod Georgeismen i Danmark." It consists of a series of single tax essays by some twelve Danish writers, collated by one of their number, Fernando Linderberg. I should like to get one of our friends who reads Danish to look over it and make some account for THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE.

Sol F. Clark, member of the national committee for Arkansas, in a letter printed elsewhere, asks for information as to what states, if any, provide by law for the separate assessment of land, apart from improvements. We know that California does so and we think that there are other states having similar laws, but we cannot give Mr. Clark the definite information which he seeks. Will our readers in the various states look this question up and send the result to THE STANDARD? There is no provision for such separate valuation in New York.

We have watched with amused interest the attempt of the protectionist organ in Indianapolis to show that the Sentinel of that city had committed the democratic party of Indiana to the single tax. Of course, the Sentinel did not do anything of the kind, nor could it be within the power of any newspaper to do such a thing. What the Sentinel did do, was to express its own opinion as to some of the obvious good effects of transferring the burden of taxation from improvements to land values. Its sensible and logical statement did not commit the democratic party to the single tax, but it did do a good deal to confirm the kindly disposition of the single taxers in Indiana toward the democratic party, and the course of the Journal will add to the warmth of their resentment against the party responsible for the McKinley bill.

In an editorial article reprinted elsewhere the Sentinel makes its own position clear, and absolves the democratic party from responsibility for the paper's opinion. The Sentinel does not, however, back down from its own position, but pluckily maintains it. It does not advocate the single tax, but it does say with emphasis that the result of that tax would be the shifting of the greater part of the burden of taxation from the farmers to those better able to bear it. The Sentinel is absolutely right, and it displays political sagacity in making such a declaration. When this truth once dawns on the minds of western farmers generally, the days of tariff taxation will be few and filled with trouble.

The Portland Oregonian recently declared that "there is a strong natural tendency toward the single tax on land." We reprint the article in our single tax news. Mr. J. P. Kohler, formerly of Brooklyn but now a resident of Portland, wrote a communication commending the editorial, whereupon the editor breaks out as follows: "Once for all, it ought to be understood that the Oregonian is not in the single tax crusade, and can't be dragged into it by an army of cranks." This is amusing. The paper has sub-

stantially admitted all that we claim, which is that the single tax on land values is the natural source of public revenues. It can refuse to label itself or to join our movement, but squirm and twist and protest as it may, it has got to give up its agitation for tax reform or join the single tax procession. Furthermore, it dare not give up its agitation in behalf of tax reform. On the contrary, the necessities of the people of Oregon will force it further and compel it, before long, to declare for free trade despite its republicanism. Since it cannot unsay what it has said in the article, reprinted elsewhere, we welcome it, despite its kicking and squirming as a recruit.

Michael Davitt's Labour World has come to hand. It is a sixteen-page paper, somewhat larger than THE STANDARD, and is a Sunday paper publishing telegraphic news. It is, as its title indicates, a labor paper, and a strenuous advocate of labor organization. This is its primary object, but its political demand is the taxation of ground values to be applied to purposes of public improvement. The first issue contains a promise of "sensational disclosures" in a series of articles exposing the conspiracy behind the forged Piggott letters, and showing that money out of the secret service fund of the British government was used to promote dynamite plots, in order to create prejudice against the Irish cause.

FALSEHOODS ABOUT BALLOT REFORM

There is clearly a desire among the machine politicians of this city to discredit and render unpopular the new ballot law of this state. These men endeavor to exaggerate the inconveniences of voting under the new system, and, with a singular disregard of Governor Hill's feelings, denounce the nuisance of a multiplicity of tickets, forgetting, perhaps, that it was the governor alone who compelled the ballot reformers reluctantly to abandon the section providing for a single ballot containing the names of all candidates to be voted for. Even the complaint against a multiplicity of ballots is a dishonest one, since under the new law no voter can cast more than one ballot, whereas under the old law he had to cast half a dozen. The real objection is that the voter now has opportunity to make his own choice, unwatched, while the heelers who used to control elections by bunching ballots, so as to deceive those who depended on them, find their avocation gone.

These complaints are easily seen through, but another attempt to scare taxpayers by dilating on the frightful cost of the new system may prove more successful in creating prejudice if it goes unanswered. The Sun in its issue of September 24 made an astonishing estimate of the cost entailed by the new system in an editorial article, which we print among our ballot reform news in this issue of THE STANDARD. The article starts out with the declaration that "it is going to cost nearly half a million dollars (\$464,743) to hold this year's election," which it declares is \$220,000 in excess of the cost of holding the election last year. In the course of the article the Sun shows that it is aware of the fact that many of these expenses are those incidental to the starting of the new system, and will not be so heavy in any future year, but it takes no account of this, and treats the total expenditure as one to which the people of this city are to be subjected annually in order that the whim of a few reformers, for whom the paper has a hearty contempt, may be gratified.

Before proceeding to examine the Sun's figures, we want to say that we agree with it as to the absurdity of printing 18,000,000 ballots for the use of less than

300,000 voters. If the bureau of elections persists in such a course it will be open to the suspicion that it is trying to make the execution of the law needlessly expensive, with a view to creating prejudice against it. There are in this city 947 polling places, at none of which, if the police board has done its duty in redistricting, can more than 300 votes be cast. Some margin must, however, be left for spoiled tickets, but certainly double the number ought to be sufficient, so that 600 of each party's tickets could be furnished for each polling place. Taking this as a basis, 568,200 would be enough tickets of any one kind. Counting in possible crank nominations, it is not likely that there will be more than six tickets in the field, including the so-called blank tickets, which contain the titles of the offices to be filled with no names of candidates. If this proves to be the case, there would be 3,909,200 tickets required. The exact number cannot be estimated until the nominations are all made; but if ten different sets of candidates were placed before the people, less than six million tickets would be sufficient, and no conceivable figuring can justify the assumption that eighteen million tickets will be needed. Furthermore, if the authorities contemplate building polling houses and booths in such fashion that they can be used at only one election, they are neglecting the example of Boston, and preparing for a senseless act of extravagance.

Returning to the Sun's figures, we charge that they are not only grossly inaccurate, but glaringly and wilfully false. The writer of the article obviously had access to the official estimates, and he could not have examined these estimates sufficiently to obtain the figures he uses without seeing that there was no ground for his statements. The estimate of the police department for the expenses of the coming election is printed in the City Record of September 20 (p. 3,016), and the total amount is clearly footed up, not at \$464,743, but at \$370,481. In the same document there is another estimate of items for advertising, not under the new law, but under that of 1882, for compensation of clerks, bureau of elections and other routine expenses, and \$38,798 on account of deficiencies in the estimate of election expenses for 1889 and \$17,464 for the deficiency appropriation needed to cover the cost of the special election for congressman in the Sixth district, held November 30, 1889. There is no opportunity for mistake or misapprehension about this, as the expenses for this year's election are footed up separately and reading matter is run under this total before the separate table for ordinary expenses and last year's deficiencies is given. These are footed up, giving a total of \$94,262, which is precisely the extent of this portion of the Sun's willful misrepresentation of official figures.

Nor was there any misapprehension of the facts by city officials by whom an honest newspaper might have been accidentally misled. The estimate of the police department from which we have quoted is dated September 15. It was officially presented to the board of estimate and apportionment in a communication, from Comptroller Meyers, dated September 18, and printed in full on page 3,019 of the same issue of the City Record. In this document the comptroller says the estimate of the board of police is \$370,481—not nearly half a million dollars, as the Sun declares. The comptroller in his resolution authorizing the issue of revenue bonds to procure the additional money mentions a modification in the police board's estimate which reduced the amount asked for \$5,000. These facts thus officially shown in the tables that the Sun must have consulted

before attempting to give any figures at all, enable us to make two tables, as follows:

THE TRUE FIGURES	
Estimate of the police board for expenses of the election of 1890 under the new election law, less \$5,000 reduction mentioned in the resolution authorizing revenue bonds	\$365,481
Appropriation for the election in 1889 under the old law, according to the Sun. \$243,220	
Deficiency in appropriation for expenses of general election, not counting in special congressional election in Sixth district	38,798—\$282,027
Estimated increased expense this year	\$82,454
THE "SUN'S" FALSE FIGURES.	
Estimate of police board for 1890	\$464,743
Cost of election of 1890	243,220
Difference	\$221,514
Which the Sun stated in round numbers at	220,000

The Sun misrepresented the facts to the extent of \$137,546
It is true that these tables do not cover all expenses incident to elections under either law, but with the exception of an unascertained and unimportant sum, necessary to pay for certain advertising by the county clerk under the new law, they cover the whole difference in cost between the two systems. By an obvious error the comptroller in his communication of September 18 states this difference, not at the Sun's figure of \$220,000, but as \$149,624. A glance at the figures shows that the comparison is not between the amount actually spent last year and this year's appropriation, but between the first inadequate appropriation of \$220,857 and the revised estimate of \$370,481, which, as we have seen, was cut down \$5,000 with the consent of the police board. The sum of \$220,857 would not have been sufficient last year under the old system, as is demonstrated by the deficiency appropriation made this year. The difference then between this year's appropriation and the actual cost last year is not \$220,000, as falsely stated by the Sun, nor \$149,624, as erroneously stated by the comptroller, but \$82,454, provided the Sun's own figures as to last year's election are correct.

As to the actual cost, the item of printing tickets can be reduced one-half (\$27,000), and under proper arrangements the items of \$30,000 for polling houses, \$39,774 for ballot booths, and \$4,500 for ballot boxes cannot properly be charged to this year. They are a part of the machinery for elections that can be used from year to year, and the houses and booths ought to be built with hinges and other devices that will permit them to be easily taken down for storage. Of the \$30,000 for polling houses, \$10,000 would have been paid out for rent this year if the houses had not been built, and as they will thus save their cost in three years they are a wise investment of the city's money. The amount of this year's appropriation that is to be thus invested in an election "plant" is \$77,274, and if the estimate for printing ballots can be reduced one-half the whole excess of this year will be the amount thus invested in permanent structures.

The Sun once had a reputation for accuracy in facts and figures. Unless it is prepared to publicly confess that it no longer pretends to accuracy, and that it is willing to falsify figures in order to deceive those of its readers who see no other paper, it must back down from its preposterous statements concerning the increased cost of elections under the new law.

WORKINGMEN AND FREE TRADE.

The democratic convention of the Fifth Pennsylvania district has nominated J. Harry Taylor, who is described as "a tariff reform republican," as a candidate for congress against Mr. Harmer, the sit-

ting member. Among the delegates present was John Moore, who represented not only his own district, but the Workmen's reform club of Kensington. It was on this account that Mr. Moore was unanimously requested to make a speech seconding Mr. Taylor's nomination. He is thus reported in the Philadelphia Press:

Mr. Chairman, I did not come here to make a speech, but I feel honored by the permission granted me by this convention to say that the workmen of this district are in favor of abolishing the tariff and giving to this country free trade with all the world. (Applause.) It is clear that if we can get all goods brought into this country free of duty, the workmen could then buy what they want for less money than they now can, and the money barons who control our workshops and our coal mines would not be able to live in such fine houses and grind down their poor workmen as they now do. Then our trade organizations would be able to keep up the prices of work, and workmen live in better style for less money. Free trade is what we want, not in part, but in everything. (Applause.) Free trade not only in wool, but in all manufactured goods, so that the poor workman can buy what he wants at lower prices.

At this point, according to the Press, the chairman of the convention motioned to a delegate to pull down Mr. Moore, but the representative of the workmen was oblivious of hints, and the report says that "the majority of the convention was with him" in his most radical utterances, giving him a storm of applause when he finally closed with an expression of hope that Mr. Taylor, when elected to congress, will find enough free traders there to abolish all tariff laws.

We see no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the Press report. Mr. Moore represents the exact sentiment of all workmen who have been rescued from the "protection" superstition. On the other hand, stupid "leaders," who are incapable of understanding public sentiment, still, through force of habit, continue to protest that they only want to hurt protection a little, in order that they shall not "scare the workmen," and they actually try, on this plea, to suppress the utterances of representative workmen like Mr. Moore, even when such utterances are received with wild applause by other workmen.

If these blockheads do not get out of the way they will be run over.

NO POOR IN PITTSBURG.

The party of learning and culture has at Pittsburg an organ called the Dispatch which spells Utopia E-u-t-o-p-i-a and salubrity c-e-l-u-b-r-i-t-y. It naturally regards sectionalism as patriotism and Senator Ingalls as a hero. Senator Ingalls is one of the few men outside of Pennsylvania capable of going into that state for the express purpose of advocating the election of Quay's man Delamater. In the course of his speech Mr. Ingalls complimented the Pittsburgers on the splendid energy and enterprise that has given them a site at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela, and stored the land beneath their feet with coal and gas. He declared that this is "an object lesson and illustration and exhibition of republican enterprise. It is an indication of what the Anglo-Saxon race at its best can do when it tries." Why the Kansas mourner over the woes of the negro should thus laud the Anglo-Saxon race at the expense of all others we do not know, but he thus continued:

I am told that there is not a pauper within your limits who is not made so, either by infirmity or calamity. I am advised that there is no able-bodied man willing to work who cannot obtain occupation at reasonable wages. I am told that contentment prevails; that the relations between labor and capital are adjusted satisfactorily. So that here has been erected this great fabric which is rich in every contingency, and possession of present riches and wealth, and far greater in its prospect of future renown.

This is certainly the kind of picture that a man ought to be able to draw of the condition of affairs in western Penn-

sylvania if he is to commend to the voters there the system of protection. What a pity that in the same issue of the Dispatch the exigencies of daily journalism compelled the editor to print an item describing the finding of the body of Matthew Gilchrist, aged thirty years, with an ugly bullet hole in his left temple, caused by a shot fired from a revolver still clutched in his dead hand. The item goes on to say:

Gilchrist formerly worked for Thomas W. Armstrong as coachman, but was out of work at present and was very much in debt. He was despondent, and his friends express no surprise at his suicide. He had been working in a mill, but on the advice of his physician, left the place, as this work was too hard.

In the face of such testimony as this who was it that advised Senator Ingalls that there is to-day in Pittsburg no able-bodied man willing to work who cannot obtain occupation at reasonable wages? But why ask the question? Nobody deceived Senator Ingalls into any such belief. He was telling falsehoods that he knew to be false, and was doubtless listened to with approval by foolish people who forgot their own misery while applauding his utterances.

MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENTS AND LAND VALUES.

We print in full the argument made on behalf of the Gem City single tax club before the special committee on new water works for the city of Quincy, Ill., not merely because it is a good argument in behalf of a just and sensible system of taxation, but because it is full of suggestion to single tax men who are willing and able to engage in practical work in behalf of the application of our principles in local taxation. This ninth clause in the constitution of Illinois opens the way for persistent effort in this direction in that state, and it was fully taken advantage of by our friends in Chicago in their determined attempt to have the cost of the city's new drainage system assessed on land values. Mr. Edward Osgood Brown's argument in behalf of this proposition would have secured its adoption had not the interests of a few and the indifference of the many stood in the way.

All the states do not have such constitutional provisions, but that fact need not stand in the way of earnest effort to compel the landlords to meet the whole expense of public improvements. Whenever people are once educated up to an appreciation of the justice of this demand any constitutional obstacles are likely to be overcome by constitutional amendment.

If men can only be brought to think about the question, it will not require very much argument to enable them to see for themselves that land values should bear the expense of all municipal improvements. Such improvements necessarily increase land values, and those only. They cannot increase building values. If a building is worth \$100,000, it is worth that because it can be replaced for that sum, and no municipal improvement can make it cost more than that to replace it. Such improvements might cheapen the cost of replacement, and, so far as they did so, they would really lower the valuation of buildings. They would, however, if they were useful improvements, inevitably add to the value of the site on which each building stood, and their cost should therefore be met by the owners of the sites thus benefited. Such movements as that in progress in Quincy enable our friends to make this fact clear to many who have never considered the theories of taxation, and hence they accomplish much good even when they fail of their immediate object.

THE POWER OF WEALTH.

Although the tone of Mr. Atkinson's rejoinder in the single tax controversy in the July Century, indicates, plainly enough, the thorough effectiveness of Mr. George's paper, there are one or two points against Mr. Atkinson's contentions upon which a little more emphasis may be laid.

Mr. Atkinson scouts as unproved and unsustained the hypothesis that because the rich have become richer the poor have become poorer.

Now it would seem that an accurate apprehension of the nature of personal riches or wealth would transform this alleged unproved and unsustained hypothesis into a demonstration against which "statistics" would be hurled in vain.

The essence of wealth is power over the labor of others. The rich man has the power to appropriate the labor of numbers of his fellow men. A very rich man has an army of slaves, none the less real because not enrolled and numbered.

The more the labor of those without the power of wealth is appropriated by those having such power, the less labor may the former class devote to its own use, and the poorer it becomes. Great fortunes, therefore, must rest upon great poverty. Furthermore, great fortunes are never a natural growth. They are always the creation of unnatural institutions. It follows, therefore, that if a scheme of taxation may be found which would tend to diminish the accumulation of great fortunes, at least a partial abolition of poverty would ensue.

What, then, are the principal sources of great fortunes in this country? Chiefly three—mines (including oil mines), railroads and land in populous cities, and it is from the values represented by mines, railroads and urban lots that the single tax will reap its great revenues, taking for the public use that which naturally belongs to it. If Mr. Atkinson's figures of the average production—fifty-five cents a day—be correct, it is certainly desirable that no one should reap a thousand-fold or more above the average, and the single tax will in time stop this monstrous disproportion.

GEORGE A. MILLER.

54 Wall street, New York city.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

PROPOSALS TO BANISH PAUPERS FROM ENGLAND—INJURIOUS RESULTS FROM GROWTH OF WEALTH—THE SOCIAL PROBLEM—TRADES UNION DIFFERENCES—THE EIGHT HOUR QUESTION—THE EMPLOYERS USING THE TROOPS—HATRED OF A HOSTILE PRESS.

HYDE, NEAR MANCHESTER Sept. 13.—The economic section of the British association has been very busy during the week, and many ex-interesting topics have been discussed. On Saturday last Mr. John King, clerk to the Leeds board of guardians, spoke on the policy of exercising discrimination between the deserving and undeserving in public outdoor relief. The conclusion of the writer was that in outdoor relief no discrimination should be exercised, but that within the workhouse attempts might safely be made to render more comfortable the lot of those who are there by no fault of their own. Dr. Rhodes, a guardian of the Charitan union, Manchester, next exhibited a series of maps in which the degrees of pauperism in the different counties of England were considered in relation to the production of coal, the manufacturing industries carried on, the wages of labor, the prevalence of co-operation, and the number of savings banks. The diagrams pointed to a close connection between co-operation and a low poor rate, and between a low rate of wages and a high poor rate. On Monday the economic section and the geographical section had a joint meeting to consider what the president, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir R. Lambert Playfair, called the vastly important subject of the lands of the globe still available for settlement by Europeans. The subject was interesting, because a good many people in England seem to think that the best remedy for pauperism is the wholesale clearing out

of the people. One of the speakers in the discussion on Saturday declared that the remedy for an immense amount of pauperism was to be found in occupying vacant regions. Provision, he said, should be made for the removal of the individual who sought relief to a country where his energies might be developed, and where he might start afresh in the battle of life. A large portion of what was spent in relief might be applied to assist in colonizing uninhabited regions. At the united meeting Mr. E. G. Ravenstein opened the discussion upon the subject already mentioned by reading a paper containing the following calculations:

Lands Available for Colonization.—The total area of land within the northern and southern limits within which cereals can be cultivated (exclusive of Arctic and Antarctic regions), 46,350,000 square miles; cultivable, 28,269,000; steppe, scrub, etc., 13,901,000; barren deserts, 4,180,000; population living on this area, 1,467,600,000—Europe, 360,200,000; Asia, 850,000,000; Africa, 127,000,000; Australia, 4,730,000; North America, 89,250,000; South America, 36,420,000. Possible population, supposing the standard of life among various peoples remains the same, and there are not extraordinary improvements in agriculture, 5,994,000,000; supposing population increases at the rate of eight per cent in any decade this number will be reached in the year 2072, or 182 years hence.

An interesting discussion followed, in the course of which Mr. Stephen Bourne of the Statistical society, said the paper would dispel the absurd fears often promulgated as to the growth of the world's population. After the conference the economic section had another meeting and discussed a paper on the London money market. A further paper was read by Professor Patrick Geddes, entitled "A Theory of the Consumption of Wealth." Of this paper, however, which was probably most interesting, the Times gives no summary. Tuesday was largely devoted to the discussion of a paper on the factory acts, with special reference to the inspection of domestic workshops. An important paper was read by Mr. Llewellyn Smith on "Modern Changes in the Mobility of Labor," in which he discussed the effects on mobility of labor of the introduction of machinery and the tendency to production on a large scale. He treated mobility from the point of view of free change of occupation rather than of place, and summed up his remarks by saying that modern changes tended to divide the process of manufacture into a number of detail processes of which one man performs only one, but the various members of the group of workers producing a particular article become less and less specialized with regard to that article, and their range of mobility, which is narrowed as regards power of interchange among themselves, is widened as regards power of interchange with workers engaged in corresponding processes of other trades. Machinery often tends to facilitate this interchange by transforming different manufactures into different groupings of nearly identical detail processes. Hence, while dividing up employments on the one hand, machinery reintegrates them on fresh lines. Thus the boundaries of trades and industries are shifting and industries regrouping themselves.

On Wednesday there was a large attendance in the economic section, and a very important paper was read by Mr. E. C. K. Gonner of University college, Liverpool, on "The drawbacks of modern economic progress." He pointed out that the increase of material wealth, itself a mark of economic progress, might be brought about by causes which had other and injurious results. He contended that that was the case with the progress made during the present century. The material progress was consequent upon three things—growth of manufacture, improvement in locomotion, and extension of foreign trade. A necessary condition of the growth of manufacture was the aggregation of the population in large centers. Those causes and conditions of progress led to three disadvantageous results. First of all there was a tendency toward physical degeneration. Although the general death rate had fallen, that of adults from thirty-five years of age and upward had risen, a contrast which was

more marked in towns than in the country. In the second place, the basis of trade was made more unstable. The share England took in the trade of the leading countries showed a tendency to decrease. Therefore it would seem that the further increase of our population would be stayed; otherwise a large population, formerly relying for support on foreign trade, would be driven to rely on home industries, and a greater demand would be made on the soil. The third disadvantage lay in the difficulties which arose in the relations of capital and labor.

An interesting discussion followed, but the conclusions of the paper were not affected. An equally important paper followed—read by Mr. E. L. Price—on "Some typical economic fallacies made by social reformers." The paper was devoted to the examination of three characteristic errors of social reformers. Bagehot, in his "Physics and Politics," had ascribed the success of Englishmen to the possession of the quality of "animated moderation;" and at the present time, while there was no doubt that the question of social reform was in a state of animation, it might be doubted whether it was characterized by "animated moderation." Englishmen were sometimes reproached for being illogical, but this apparent want of logic was really another aspect of the quality of animated moderation. Bagehot's language was not very precise, but it was suggestive, and the lack of the quality of animated moderation was illustrated by three tendencies which were found in many different quarters. In the first place, there was the failure to recognize the difference between theory and practice. This was illustrated by the use made of the conception of the "unearned increment." In the theory of rent there was a clear and definite distinction between what was earned and what was unearned, but this distinction was obscure and ill-defined in practice; and for as our conclusions rested on the nicety of the distinction they were inapplicable to practice. The principle of "betterment" formed in some respects an exception, for it implied a definiteness which was actually found in some cases, and it did not contemplate the possibility of an unearned decrement. The nicety of the distinction on which the conception of the "unearned increment" was based was realized more vividly when we considered the extension of it to other forms of wealth, which was made in General Walker's theory of business profits. In the second place, the use of the terms "socialism" and "socialistic" might be considered. Mr. G. B. Shaw's paper at the Bath meeting and Mr. Sidney Webb's book on "Socialism in England" illustrated a vague and unsatisfactory use of the terms, for the question was essentially one of degree. Neither the sphere of the action of the state, nor the sphere of the freedom of the individual, was conceived by any but the most extreme writers or thinkers to be respectively so comprehensive and so exclusive as to embrace for itself the whole of life and action and to leave no room for the other; and a difference of degree was as important as a difference of kind in the matter of socialism and individualism. The term should therefore be followed by an explanatory clause to show the sense in which it was used, and this was rarely done. In the third and last place, social reformers were apt to regard their own pet scheme as the one panacea, and to refuse to allow a place in the society of the future to the contemporaneous adoption of other schemes. This was a failing characteristic of some co-operators, who were also liable to exhibit the lack of discrimination considered before. And it was also found in some passages of so fair and impartial an advocate of profit sharing as Mr. W. P. Gilman. The society of the future would, however, like the society of the past, in all probability be characterized by diversity and not by uniformity.

The last paper read was one by Mr. Edwin Cannan on "The use of estimates of aggregate capital and income as measures of the economical welfare of

nations." The following is an extract: If the wealth of a nation consists of the sum of the wealth of all its individual members, to compare the wealth of different nations we have only to add up the wealth of the individuals of whom each nation consists. But is this wealth which is to be added the individuals' capitals or their incomes? It is usually considered to be their capitals, but it is much more reasonable to consider it their incomes. Some of the objections to taking incomes, and not capitals, are founded on a misleading conception of income, and others on a false analogy from the case of a single individual. Nations being of very different magnitude, aggregate income tells little till it is divided by population. The result of the division is a fiction called average income, which takes no account of distribution. But common sense teaches that very unequal distribution is uneconomic because it is ill-proportioned to needs. This might have been set down as "mere sentiment" till the introduction of the Jevonian theory of value; but the decreasing utility of additional quantities of any commodity to an individual, which serves as the basis of that theory, also explains why inequality of income, or, strictly speaking, of expenditure, diminishes the utility of a given aggregate income. The fact that the distribution of income, as well as its amount, affects the economic welfare of a nation is fatal to the use of statistics of income, however perfect, as exact measures of the economic welfare of different nations.

I must turn now to other matters.

The differences at the Trades union congress assumed an acute form a day or two after the adjournment of that assembly. But to understand the situation, your readers must know what I believe you in America call a bottom fact or two. Many of the older trades union officials of this country have been, quite naturally enough, by their connection with the parliamentary committee of the congress particularly, and by their connection with trade organizations generally, brought into contact with people of distinction—members of governments, members of parliament, parliamentary candidates, and especially employers of labor; and, in addition, it is from the ranks of these older officials that a few labor members of parliament, workingmen magistrates and inspectors of factories have been drawn, and a suspicion has been aroused that these men have been in a certain sense affected by the intimate relationship with superior people into which they have been thrown.

In London this kind of thing has been seen at work in a very glaring form. Certain "workingmen delegates" have been known to get up meetings in favor of tory policy, and it has come out that the expenses were paid with tory money. Upon the top of this came the unfortunate circumstance that Mr. Broadhurst, the late secretary of the trades union congress, had shares in Brunner & Co. of Northwich. Then that the same gentleman had visited the prince of Wales at Sandringham. And in this way, as I say, a suspicion has been excited that some of the old leaders were "captured" by the enemy. Then these old leaders have been a little jealous of new men. And new men have been rather contemptuous of old men, and so when the congress met at Liverpool, there were all the materials necessary for a row independent of eight hour resolutions. In the result, it will be remembered, Mr. Birtwistle, the secretary of the Lancashire weavers, withdrew from the parliamentary committee, and thereupon a cry arose that the Lancashire trade would withdraw from the congress altogether. And there did seem some danger that this course would be followed. The prospect of a disruption was hailed in every direction in the capitalistic press, and especially in the liberal-unionist and tory newspapers. Happily the prompt appearance of certain letters to the editors of various journals throughout Lancashire, strongly appealing for union in the common interest of labor, have had the effect of checking this tendency

to division, and this morning Mr. Birtwistle comes out with a circular in which, though he uses unnecessarily harsh language in reference to the congress, he justifies his retirement from the parliamentary committee on the ground that he is not in favor of a general legal eight hour day, and cannot therefore work for it; but declares that he is not in favor of withdrawal from the congress, and will not advocate such a thing. This is eminently satisfactory, and gives reason for hope that the mischief-making press will fail in its effort to split up the great labor movement. But the danger is not over. The new men must not fling epithets at the old. The old must not pour contempt on the new. It would be nothing short of shameful that the cause of labor should be jeopardized now, when it is marching to victory, by the wretched wrangling of its leaders. If I may express my own opinion, I should say that the greatest danger lies in the socialist element in the labor movement. The socialists are much divided, but they number in their ranks many able men; certainly many very positive men. Again, the socialists have been very warmly denounced, and this has made them even more persistent and dogmatic than might otherwise have been the case. They are as a party young and enthusiastic and a trifle cocksure, and they do not combine the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove, at least so it is thought.

They are too ready to stigmatize as a fool or a knave people who do not quite see eye to eye with them. This is their great fault, and it is naturally very warmly resented. But I must confess that there is another side to the question. Indeed, at the annual meeting of the Social democratic federation a year or so ago in Birmingham, one of the speakers talking of what their policy should be said, "What we've got to do is to kick up a blooming row." There is a good deal in that. The socialists may say, Yes, it is perhaps unfortunate that the present labor leaders should be offended by our attitude, and there is perhaps some danger that the labor movement may be temporarily checked by our policy, but then, the crowd will follow the strongest lead, and if we are sufficiently persistent, the crowd will ultimately follow us, and we shall get whole leaves instead of half ones. For my own part I am generally in favor of as much discussion as can be had. The more interest there is aroused in social problems the better. But it is desirable that all who have the same ends in view should as far as possible deal courteously with each other.

The feature of the labor movement which is attracting most attention in political circles is the determination to have fuller representation in parliament. Miners of Staffordshire are having a quarrel with the liberal leaders on the point of claim that at least one of the candidates should be held by a representative of labor. The action of the single trade union in Scotland recently was such as to excite the officials of the party the coming year at the next election they would elect the way of a certain limited number of candidates, and it is certain that advanced men in different parts of England will press the subject also before the next general election.

The eight hours resolution passed at the trades congress is, of course, not at all likely to become a political issue at the next general election. But that it will have to be faced when the working classes themselves are somewhat more united upon it, is quite certain. It is declared, as a matter of course, that the liberal leaders are "in anxious correspondence" upon the matter, and it may be frankly admitted that "there is no probability that any leading liberal would support the project in the form in which it was adopted by a small majority at Liverpool." But still, the question will crop up in one form or another, and the recent history of the Irish question has taught us some remarkable lessons as to the squeezability even of leading liberals.

We have had another dock strike. This

time at Southampton. The affair seems to have been somewhat unwisely managed, and the men have been beaten. But the manner in which this has been accomplished is not satisfactory. The military have been called out somewhat unnecessarily, and the impression has been created that employers intend to take extreme measures of this character whenever they think well. The result will only be disastrous to the employers. The English workingmen will not stand it, and if parliament had been sitting it is very probable that the government would have had a bad quarter of an hour over it. The general effect of the calling out of the military may be judged by the following extract from the Daily News (London), which, while it is Gladstonian in its politics, has not hitherto been remarkable for its support of the labor movement:

Whether it was admissible or not, necessary or not, that the streets of Southampton should be occupied by a military force, it can hardly be denied that the presence and the active interference of the military force must have tended to provoke an outbreak of popular passion. In other days such a parade of authoritative strength would not have passed off without an impassioned counter demonstration. In other days it would hardly have been possible to avoid the spilling of blood in a sadly lavish fashion. It is something to know that the workingmen behaved so well under such trying conditions. When the worst has been said that can be said it will have to be admitted that a struggle was carried on between masters and men in Southampton which, despite the presence and the intervention of the soldiery, did not lead to any serious and sanguinary disturbance. It would not have been so in years gone past. It is a sign of good hope that, thus far, it has been so now. The time has gone by and for ever when the various questions of labor could be settled, or even could be regulated, without the concurrence of the workingman. The employers have to recognize the claims and the credentials of those who represent the authority of union organizations. The union of trades and of laboring associations has become a power in our day, which it is perfectly absurd to fancy that the employers or the community can ignore. The working classes now are only doing that which the employers have been free to do for generations and almost from all time in civilized society.

The following extract from the unionist Daily Chronicle (London), in which I recognize the fine Roman hand of a friend of ours, shows that even in unionist circles there is a due appreciation of the position of affairs:

The leaders of the new movement should at once set themselves firmly against physical violence, even at the risk of temporary popularity. Some of the incidents at Southampton, following on the unpleasant events on the New York Central railway, show that moral firmness in dealing with masses of excited men who feel a keen sense of grievance is urgently needed. We do not doubt that the able and influential leaders of the working classes are as much opposed to violence as anyone can be, and that they see, as clearly as we do, that violence on the part of the men will play with fatal facility the game of their enemies. Already ominous hints as to the employment of "Punkerton" men to act here with the brutality which has characterized them in America are being heard; and it is even openly advised that terrorism should be brought to bear against the forces of the "new unionism." Anyone can see that this means something little short of civil war, in which the true interests of labor would be lost sight of in the wild desire to preserve law and order at all costs. Surely this must not be and need not be. Capital is immensely strong and well organized, and can command unlimited resources, and it is not improbable that these resources might be used in the way indicated if the new labor unions gave any encouragement to a policy of violence. The course of labor is an heads and exert such a force over their followers as to discountenance all force over and revengeful manifestations—all bludge.

Michael Davitt of brute force to the Southampton leaders in has written, same strain. The great trouble with the Southampton daily press is almost all now is to vilify, and the amount of vile mud and calumny in which it indulges is great indeed. At Southport the day Mr. Cunningham Graham, M. P., refused to speak in the presence of the press, and gave as his reason that the press of the country was lying and treacherous. The Liverpool Daily Post a day or two after most abominably misrepresented the conduct of Mr. McGhee in connection with the dock laborers, and speaking in Belfast shortly after the dock laborers there Mr. McGhee said he

sent the editor a writ, and "the dirty little devil of a sub-editor next day apologized." Mr. Cunningham Graham accompanied Mr. McGhee to Belfast, and again turned the reporters out. He said that the policy which had been laid down at Liverpool during the late dock strike—a policy which had been initiated by Mr. M'Hugh, Mr. McGhee, and himself—was that in their opinion, believing at least that the press was run by capitalists for capitalists, and therefore must be against the interests of the working classes, they resolved to boycott it from their proceedings. But under present circumstances he was not there in a negative capacity, though personally he was of opinion that the three great curses of our modern society were landlordism, capitalists, and a free press. (Laughter and hear, hear.) There had been a good deal said about the freedom of the press being attacked in Ireland, but for himself he would have been glad to see placed in the hands of Dublin Castle power to hang all the editors in the country (laughter), and he would cheerfully sacrifice all literature, including even Shakespeare and "Don Quixote," in order to assist in suppressing this free newspaper press, so hostile to the interests of the workers. He did not, of course, refer to the reporters present, who were merely performing the work that they were paid to perform, and, so far as he was concerned, they might twist, distort, and misrepresent what he had got to say on the present occasion just as much as they liked.

Here the unionist reporters left the room, but the nationalist reporter remained, and Mr. McGhee, who was in the chair, said he agreed with Mr. Graham that one of the greatest curses of the time was a free press. It was just free to lie about the people, to jibe them and support the principles that suited their employers. (Hear, hear.) For his part he thought if a coercion act were introduced with a clause in it for the suppression of the press the act would be justified. They had conducted their meetings hitherto without the press, and it was just because they had done so that they had been successful. Wherever he had been the one thing that annoyed him was the presence of the press, because he knew that there was no institution in existence which could so successfully lie. (Laughter.)

Now, there is much justification for all this. During the past week the press has teemed with villification, sneering and jibing. Liberal as well as tory newspapers have indulged in it, and the tory and unionist papers particularly have fallen foul of the advanced men in the most energetic fashion. Hence it would not be amiss if the general policy of the Knights of Labor—that of holding all labor meetings in the absence of the press—were generally adopted for some little time.

As showing how serious the dockers' movement is, I may mention a shipping federation is in course of formation, and is now awaiting registration by the board of trade. The federation is greatly puffed by the Times, which says it may be regarded as embracing almost the whole of the shipowning interests of the United Kingdom, and it adds that "the example of the British shipowners is likely to be followed by shipowners in Australia and throughout the whole of our colonial possessions." The wish is father to the thought, doubtless, but in the meantime the objects of the federation may be stated.

(a) To deal with labor questions of all kinds, including differences with labor organizations. (b) Indemnity to ship owners whose vessels are detained by the authority of the board of trade. (c) Legal proceedings where necessary in important test cases within the jurisdiction of the association, but not for ordinary breaches of discipline, etc. (d) The protection of the officers, crews, or servants of ship owners against intimidation on the part of trade organizations or the members. (e) Proposed legislation affecting ship owners. (f) Counteracting the effects of agitations against the shipping interest, and to deal with cases of conspiracy.

Reliance is placed upon the non-unionist element among the workmen, and

nothing could more clearly show the old unionists the imperative necessity which exists for organizing unskilled labor.

Another move, which shows the urgency of the labor question, has been made in connection with the Bristol channel docks. A scheme has been drawn up by Sir W. T. Lewis, having for its object a sort of co-operative arrangement between employers and workmen. The scheme is thus summarized by the Times:

It is proposed that the Bristol channel docks association of employers and workmen shall consist of directors or managers of the several docks and any companies or persons directly employing labor at the docks on the one hand, and of the workmen engaged by these employers on the other. Each body will nominate an equal number of members to form a joint committee, and an equal number of the nominees of employers and of workmen will in all cases constitute a quorum. To this joint committee is intrusted the duty of declaring the classes of workmen whose wages and labor arrangements it intends to regulate, and of determining or varying from time to time the several scales of wages payable to each class, as well as the services it is to render. The decisions of the joint committee are to be final and binding, every employer and every workman undertaking to comply strictly with its ordinances. It will prepare forms of contract suitable to the different kinds of employment, and no change in the conditions of labor or payment can take place otherwise than by its determination. Employers are free to engage any workmen they please, and those engaged may become members of the association. A scheme of insurance forms part of the plan of the projected association. Workmen will be called upon to contribute a small percentage of their wages, and employers will in like manner contribute a percentage of the wages they pay. No entrance fee will be required from workmen, but employers will pay to the fund a certain sum for each workman employed by them. Thus we have in fact a board of arbitration and control upon a large scale, conjoined with a provident scheme of insurance against accident or death. The board will be composed, not of amateurs or outsiders, but of the very people directly concerned with the business under consideration and deeply interested in finding out the best methods of transacting it. We must presume that the joint committee will have before it the fullest information upon every question from the point of view of both parties, and that the real economic bearing of every proposal will thus be made clear to all. This may not infallibly prevent strikes, but it is at least the most promising method of attaining that end. The adhesion of the great majority of the employers concerned is already secured, and it only remains to be seen how the workmen will deal with Sir W. T. Lewis's proposals.

The fact that the scheme is recommended by the Times is the strongest reason for rejecting it. The fact is, all these profit sharing and insurance schemes are so many bribes to keep the men quiet and detach them from their fellows. But there is danger that the demon of self-interest will have considerable power over a great many workmen. Still the spirit of union is much more in the ascendant than ever, and, as I have so often said before, leading statesmen may bury their heads as they please, but the labor movement is growing in power by day, and I should not be surprised to find any moment at leading liberal statesmen "finding salvation" very rapidly as they did over the Irish question. We shall see that it will not be a little patching here and a little there, but any good will be done but the adoption of some broad general principle upon which labor will be emancipated and aggrandized.

My letter has this week reached an inordinate length already—and I have said nothing about the Irish question. Well, there is one thing to be said—Davitt and Dillon are both agreed that there must be no more cadding on behalf of the farmers who have lost their potatoes. They have advised these men to live on the rent. The "famine" will not be a famine after all—but there will be a terrible scarcity in some districts—mainly the poorer districts.

On other matters affecting Ireland it is well to be reticent. It is said that Mr. Balfour has thrown up the sponge and "called in" Mr. Parnell, in the hope that the "alternative scheme" which the Irish leader proposed last session may be licked into the shape of a bill. We shall see what we shall see.

I cannot conclude without giving you

two interesting excerpts from the London correspondence of the Manchester Guardian.

One of the most important questions affecting London property may soon engage the attention of parliament. The ratable value of such of the crown property in London as is administered for revenue purposes is £900,000 a year. The income received is about £250,000, but if all the property were in hand—if the leases as they fall in were not renewed—the annual income would exceed £1,000,000. At present this property, nominally in the hands of the two commissioners, Mr. Culley and Sir Nigel Kingscote, is really and entirely administered by Mr. Cates. What does parliament wish to do with this property? If a leasehold enfranchisement bill were passed, such as that to which both sides have shown a leaning, the crown could not be excluded and the question would then settle itself. The lessees of the Carlton and the Reform clubs, together with the Criterion and all the thousands of houses west of Ludgate Hill on crown land, could avail themselves of the provisions of the act. At present there is usually one lessee, and sometimes more than one, between the commissioners and the occupying lessee. The department has made some attempts to get rid of the middlemen, but without much effect. The actual practice is to arrange the terms of a new lease with the occupying tenant "about a year before the expiring of the lease." The lessees say this gives them too little security, and they want a system such as, it is alleged, exists on Lord Derby's property at Liverpool, of which it is said that leases are always renewable on fixed terms.

This points to charming discussions in the near future upon ground rents, and so on, in which we may expect to hear the voice of Mr. Saunders.

The next paragraph is particularly interesting as showing that "Progress and Poverty" is not unknown among even the comparatively well to do:

What is to be the result of the continued decline in the return from the best investments? One often hears this question put with deepest anxiety, and the facts of the case are very remarkable. The decline in the income from consols in the last twenty years has been at least 15 per cent. Upon railway debentures the decline in the same period has been 25 per cent, or, in other words, whereas in 1870 the debentures of home railways could be purchased to pay 4 per cent, they cannot now be bought to pay more than 3 per cent. Within the last three months 30 per cent has been knocked off the interest of Egyptian loans amounting to \$29,000,000, chiefly held in this country. Every movement is in the same direction. This is first a London question, for there are more people living here upon interest from investments than anywhere else. A fortune of £25,000 is the result of a life of successful professional toil, but it will not, securely invested, represent an income of £1,000 a year. The sons and daughters of the nobility and smaller landed gentry with fortunes of £5,000 or £10,000 are in what they would call poverty or in perpetual anxiety from risky investments. The consequence, many think, will be to lessen the rate of marriages in the leisured classes, to delay retirement from professional occupations, to cultivate among the prudent a more careful and economic style of living, and to increase the disposition of both sexes to seek profitable occupation. They wish for a life which is not mere existence upon the meager fruits of small investments.

Here I might stop—and think I had concluded a good week's work—for indeed I have written about twenty letters to as many newspapers in Lancashire urging union above all things in the interest of labor, and on the whole I should guess I have written about an entire number of THE STANDARD. Accordingly you will not be surprised that I am in favor of an eight hour day, at all events for your correspondent. But I must not conclude without mentioning that Mr. Davitt's paper, the Labor World, comes out next week. It will be our organ on this side, and I hope it may have a wide circulation on your side.

HAROLD RYLETT.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

THE WAY THE TARIFF BILL WAS CONSTRUCTED—WHERE THE LOBBIES BRING THEIR INFLUENCE TO BEAR—THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE, THE TARIFF AND THE NEW ENGLAND SENATORS—AS TO THE SURPLUS—CURRENT EXPENDITURES EXCEED CURRENT REVENUES BY A NUMBER OF MILLIONS—THE REIGN OF EXTRAVAGANCE—PASSAGE OF THE ROCK CREEK PARK BILL WITH THE SINGLE TAX PRINCIPLE—RAILROAD LAND GRANT FORFEITURES—PREPARING TO REFUND THE DIRECT TAX.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 29.—"Addition, division and silence"—so the policy which produced the tariff bill was senten-

tiously characterized by Representative Turner of Georgia. And so it has been. The staunchest of protectionists, supposing him susceptible of influence from the evidence of his ears and eyes, must have been shocked and horrified at the things done in the name of the public good—to "protect American labor"—and could the general people have had a clear view of all of the workings of congress during this eventful debate, they would have been filled with a wrath and indignation that would have swept the whole institution of protection from the face of the country. They might not have seen the gathering of some of the elements most dangerous to a republic and a democracy—the growth of privilege and concentrated power, the construction of a great navy, the planning for an increase in the army to man the steel forts that are to line our coasts, and the raids upon the public treasury in behalf of the most outrageous as well as the most miserable jobs—the danger of all this they might not have seen, but they would have seen that this system called "protection," which affects the welfare and reaches down into the most intimate relations between not only our own sixty millions of people, but many other peoples as well, is not evolved from the long experience, profound wisdom and unimpeachable honesty of a great body of the best men in the land, who act only after mature deliberation, but upon the pullings and haulings of special interests working upon individuals of a very small minority of a majority of men, the mass of whom were elected on other issues than the tariff, who know next to nothing about the principles of taxation, and who are ready to do whatever will get them re-elected, and not a few of whom owe their elevation to the worst practices.

The tariff bill originated, as all taxation bills must, in the ways and means committee of the house of representatives. Of that committee, seven members represented the majority party of the house, the republican, and five the minority, the democratic. The majority of things that can be directly acted by a tariff were divided into classes and these classes divided among the majority members of the committee. All delegations from special interests were referred to the respective committeeman in charge, thus laying these men open, if they were honest, to all manner of deception, and to worse influences if they were corruptible. When the time came to construct the bill the majority members of the committee sat alone, and what each member said of his class or classes was in most instances put down, and became the law unto the rest of the members. When it had all been written down the doors were opened, and the minority of the committee were admitted and permitted to see what had been done, and they prepared a report from their point of view, which was presented with the majority report to the house of representatives on the presentation of the tariff bill.

The bill then being before the house, the committee on rules met to determine how long it should be debated. Five men constitute this committee. Three represent the majority party. These three, one of them the speaker of the house, reported a "special order"—that is, that the regular rules should be set aside and that on a certain date a vote should be taken on the "previous question." A vote was called on the special order, the speaker marshaled his majority side, willing and unwilling alike, the yeas and nays were taken, and the question was "so ordered."

Then came the debate that was no debate, because its defenders would not discuss, but depended for the most part upon gross assumptions, flat denials, misastounding sophisms and willful lies. On the expiration of the time fixed (the house had gotten over only the first part of the bill when the time elapsed) the speaker announced the previous question, the protesting members on the majority side were whipped in, the vote was taken and the bill passed the house. Then it went to the senate to undergo a like ex-

perience, except that there was no "special order" or "previous question." The half dozen "wise men" of the finance committee had no respect for the wisdom of the seven "wise men" at the other end of the capitol, and so they chopped and hacked and amended the bill to their hearts' content—and contentment of the swarm of lobbyists hovering about—upon which they reported it to the senate, who, after much talking and little doing, passed it, with but few changes. Then came the appointment of a joint committee to adjust differences ostensibly "between the two houses," but really between the two small committees; then the reporting of the conferees, the adoption of the conference report, and the bill, which directly and most sensibly affects the comfort and happiness of more than sixty millions of people, and indirectly other peoples as well—a bill, thus conceived and brought forth, is about to pass as I send this letter to THE STANDARD. What does it all mean but "addition, division and silence?"

Mr. Walker of Massachusetts—Mr. Chairman, I wish to say in answer to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Mills) that there is no pretense of the protective tariff being placed on infant industries. The whole claim for protection is based on the differences in wages. (Derisive laughter on the democratic side.)

The foregoing appeared in the Congressional Record of May 18. On September 2 Charlotte Smith, president, and Catherine Bergen, secretary, of the Women's national industrial league of America, and resident in Washington, presented to congress on behalf of their organization a memorial containing evidence showing that "the intended protection liberally bestowed by the house and senate does not protect labor, but is only fruitful to the manufacturers in this country." In the cotton and woolen mills of Pennsylvania, New York and New England, the memorial stated, women and children work at from 35 to 75 cents a day—the day consisting of ten hours; that on the passage of the tariff bill through the house, when an advance of 50 per cent on the ad valorem duty was granted to the cloak manufacturers, they, on June 5, notified their women workers of a reduction in wages of 25 per cent; that the silk ribbon manufacturers at Bethlehem, Pa., provided with an advance of 20 per cent in duty on their goods by the house and senate, notified their weavers of a 40 per cent reduction in wages; that girls in Pennsylvania shoe and boot factories receive 50 cents per day; that women in New York city are making boys' jackets for 15 cents each and pants for 12 cents a pair; that according to the census of Massachusetts of 1885, 23 per cent of all the persons employed in the cotton and woolen mills receive only from \$2.10 to \$4.50 per week, attending to two and three looms each, while in Great Britain they have charge of one and two looms only; that families in Pennsylvania, New York and the New England states "falsify the entries in their family bibles so as to put their children earlier to work than the law permits;" that the chief of the bureau of labor statistics in Massachusetts, in his twentieth annual report, 1890, on page 570, states that 391 female children from 10 to 13 years old are employed in the factories of that state, and that 69,807 girls from 14 to 19 years old are doing factory work; that there are but 114,223 girls between the ages of 14 and 19 in the state.

And so the evidence went on through a long report. Mr. Plumb of Kansas it was who last week called the memorial up in the senate, and several of the New England senators—Hoar and Dawes of Massachusetts, and Platt and Hawley of Connecticut—were on their feet in an instant protesting and pooh-poohing. Senator Dawes said that Massachusetts had "spread out before the country year after year, with the feeling that it was commendable," the example of paying such "compensation" to those she employs in her factories" as "to enable them to lay up in her savings banks more money than is in the treasury of the United States at this moment." Senator Hoar

said that "the laboring classes" of Massachusetts "have deposits in our savings banks amounting now to more than \$315,000,000, and there are some of our large manufacturing cities where the operatives could buy the whole city, the mill plants, dwelling houses, and everything else by their savings bank deposits." Senator Hawley made a speech in praise of the splendid condition of his state of Connecticut, and Senator Platt stated that the matter of child labor had "received a great deal of attention in Connecticut, and our statutes upon the subject are very stringent, so much so that no child may be employed in any factory in Connecticut under thirteen years of age." The senators were saved further explanations and uneasiness by the references of the memorial to the committee on education and labor, where it will doubtless be allowed to sleep in peace.

Many and confusing statements are made regarding the surplus in the federal treasury in view of the enormous expenditures made by this congress. The question must remain perplexing so long as there are various definitions of the word "surplus." The one hundred millions in gold in the treasury for the redemption of greenbacks or the millions of silver for the redemption of certificates may or may not, according to the view taken, be considered part of the surplus, and there is a good deal of confusion about this. The only clear and satisfactory way to take up the question is to consider the current expenditures as compared with the current revenues. Senator Plumb declared that if the tariff bill passed, in its present form, the expenditures of this congress would be fifteen millions in excess of the revenues, and this without laying aside any money for the redemption of the public debt, which has hitherto always been done. Mr. Cannon, chairman of the house appropriations committee, made a very smooth report early in the month, demonstrating apparently that everything was lovely, but Mr. Sayers of Texas, responding for the minority of the same committee, made a very careful and minute examination of the finances, and stated that on the showing of the figures of the secretary of the treasury the current expenditures would exceed the current revenue by over eleven millions, while according to his own calculation the excess would amount to eighteen millions. For it appears that not one dollar has been allowed in the appropriation bills for the payment of pensions under the new "disability" and "totally helpless" laws, which low estimates put at forty millions; and that insufficient appropriations, amounting to over a million dollars, were made for the department of justice and public printing office. Mr. Sayers thus draws the account:

Appropriations already made,	
less \$38,511,541.17 (deficiency)	
.....	\$423,333,238 72
Add as necessary additional appropriations for the department of justice, the pension office and the office of the public printer for the present fiscal year	46,066,394 07

Total	\$469,399,632 79
Deduct revenues, including postal receipts, as estimated by the secretary of the treasury	450,414,337 34

Balance against the government	\$18,985,295 45
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This takes no account of the reduced revenue which Mr. McKinley says will result from the enactment of the tariff bill, which would make the deficiency to be met next year larger yet; nor does it provide for putting aside of one cent for the payment of the national debt, and, indeed, in this respect extension of the bonds is hinted at. Nor is this all. Not only will there be a heavy deficiency to meet hereafter, but all manner of mortgages are made on the revenue of the next few years. Said Mr. Sayers in his speech:

They have, without appropriating one dollar therefor, authorized contracts to be made for the manufacture of heavy ordnance to the extent of \$3,775,000; they have also authorized the construction of war vessels

which, together with their armor and armament, will cost \$24,225,000, and have only appropriated an undefined portion of \$5,475,000 for the purpose; they have further authorized contracts for the improvement of certain water ways and harbors for as much as \$14,922,979, toward which they have appropriated but \$2,000,000; and, finally, they have authorized the construction of forty-one public buildings to cost not exceeding \$7,117,639.54, but for which they have appropriated only \$2 375,000.

At length after an extended conference between the senate and house the Rock creek park bill has been passed. As has several times been explained, this bill provides for the acquisition of a tract of land of about two thousand acres lying along both sides of Rock creek, a small but picturesque stream in the northwestern suburbs of the city of Washington, at a cost not to exceed \$1,200,000. The vital point in the bill, and the one to which the senate long objected, was the provision adopted by the house, on motion of Mr. Payson of Illinois, directing that after the commissioners have ascertained the cost of the land required, including expenses, they "shall assess such proportion of such cost and expenses upon the lands, lots and blocks situated in the District of Columbia, specially benefited by reason of the location and improvement of said park, as nearly as may be, in proportion, to the benefits resulting to such real estate." Mr. Hemphill of South Carolina, in explaining the conference report stated that from the best information he could gather pretty nearly all the expense of this improvement could be "recovered from property owners"—some gentleman had said all—but whatever part of the expense remained unpaid after the assessment had been levied would, under the act, be borne by the general government and by the District of Columbia, one-half by each. Mr. Payson says he will now make it his business to see the president and do what he can to have proper men appointed as commissioners to select the land, to tax the benefits—in short, men who will act according to the full spirit of the new law.

The conference report on the bill forfeiting over seven millions of acres of land granted by the government to encourage the building of railroads, which has just passed the house, will doubtless pass the senate before adjournment. As Mr. Hitt of Illinois said in the debate on the report, this land grant legislation has been before congress for forty years; first in granting public lands to stimulate the building of railroads and afterwards in recovering from the roads the lands forfeited by not fulfilling the time limit named in the grants. It is said that about fifteen thousand miles of railroad have been built under land grants, and that as many more miles have been promoted by it, but as to how many millions of acres were granted away from the time the policy began in 1850 to the time it ceased in 1866 it is hard to tell. Congress began by deeding every alternate section of 640 acres for a distance of six miles back from the line of the road, but later on this width of territory was increased, the Union Pacific getting twelve and sixteen miles and the Northern Pacific twenty miles on both sides of the track. It was estimated that this land was on the average worth \$1.25 an acre, and that it immediately doubled in value on the building of the road, but notwithstanding this most of the roads were very slow in building, and indeed they seemed to make little effort to comply with the time limit fixed. This sort of thing met with a serious check, however, in 1882, when Mr. Payson of Illinois introduced a bill into the house of representatives forfeiting lands on the Texas Pacific railroad not then "earned" by the road. This went through congress with a rush, and over eighteen million acres were restored to the public domain. Other bills of the same import were passed by that congress and by the two congresses following, the forty-ninth and the fiftieth, and altogether over fifty millions of acres were declared forfeited.

In dealing with the question of forfeiture this congress had to consider three classes of land: First, that land

embraced by or "lying opposite to" that portion of the road finished within the time limit; second, that portion embraced by that part of the road finished after the time limit; and third, the land embraced by that part of the road not finished. All parties were agreed that a railroad has good title to land opposite that portion of the road finished within the time limit. All were agreed, also, that land lying opposite the portion of a road not finished was unearned and should be forfeited. But there was much contention as to whether the land lying opposite the part of a road finished after the time limit was earned, the house, headed by Mr. Payson, contending in the negative, and the senate taking and holding to the opposite view. The house was bent on having all the land forfeited which had not been "earned in time," but the senate stood out against the proceeding, and so in the conflict of these two policies nothing was done. In the meanwhile further work was finished on various roads and accepted by the government, so that there entered into the problem the further complication of parts of roads finished after time but accepted by the government. It was, therefore, determined to at once take the step upon which both branches of congress were determined—namely, to pass an act forfeiting lands opposite the portions of roads that were unfinished, leaving parts finished after time for later consideration. The act which has just been passed does this. As to the other land comprised in that part of the road finished after time, Mr. Payson now thinks nothing can be done, in view of a recent decision of Justice Field of the United States supreme court, sitting in the circuit court in Oregon. In the case of Denney against Dobson it was decided that congress's power of land grant forfeiture was restricted to lands lying opposite that portion of a road not constructed at the time of the passage of the act of forfeiture. It is therefore probable that this will be the last forfeiture that congress will make.

The act just passed returns to the public domain from seven to nine million acres of land. The largest share of this is forfeited by the Northern Pacific road between the points of Wallula and Portland, in the state of Oregon, embracing three million, five hundred thousand acres. The other roads coming under the act, with the number of acres they forfeit, are as follows: Atlantic, Gulf and West India transit, 76,800; Tennessee and Co. sa, 140,160; Coosa and Chattooga, 144,000; Mobile and Girard, 536,064; Alabama and Tennessee river, 89,932; Marquette and Ontonagon, 294 400; Jackson, Lansing and Saginaw, and Amboy, Lansing and Traverse bay, 300,000; Gulf and Ship island, 600,000; Minnesota and Pacific, —; Southern Minnesota and Minnesota valley, —; Southern Minnesota (act March 3, 1875), —; Portage and Winnebago, 406,880; Sioux City and St. Paul, 171,200; Southern Pacific of California, 1,075,200. All this land, which is a minimum estimate, and amounts to 7,259,916 acres, becomes once again "public domain" and is open to settlement in quarter sections of 160 acres. The land forfeited by the Northern Pacific along the Columbia river valley is said to be wonderfully fertile, and a rush of settlers and speculators and a land boom are expected in consequence of its being thrown open.

Representative Caswell of Wisconsin (rep.) insists that the matter of the direct tax, for the refunding of which the republican minority in the house fought so long and hard a few years ago, shall not be permitted to be forgotten now that that party has control, and he has presented a resolution "that on Wednesday, December 3, 1890, after a morning hour of sixty minutes, the house proceed to the consideration of senate bill No. 139, known as the direct tax bill, and that at 4 o'clock of that day the previous question be considered as ordered on the bill and pending amendments." The resolution was sent to the committee on rules, and may be reported favorably or unfavorably whenever that committee sees fit. If the senate bill passes \$18,000,000, raised during the civil war by a direct tax on land and improvements in the northern states and such of the southern states as were not in too belligerent a condition, will be returned to the state treasuries.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

In a recent issue of the Boston Globe a long letter appeared, signed by "A Forlorn Woman." She had once been well off but had become penniless, and tried to turn her education and refinement to advantage. It is a long record of failure and refusal of charity. In July, August and September she earned \$15 altogether, and her husband \$3. The Globe, in commenting on this story, says:

The sadness of this story lies in the fact that it is a common one. The woman does not ask for charity. Charity is a poor substitute for justice, and it must be that natural justice requires that every human being shall have the right to sustain life by labor, and not be at the mercy of those who "give work." Savages possess this fundamental right, but civilized men and women have parted with it somehow. The path which all movements for the amelioration of poverty should take must lie in the direction of restoring to the civilized man and woman the natural right to work.

On another page THE STANDARD publishes the greater part of an article from the Helena Journal, which is called forth by a change in the city assessment. The Journal is Russell B. Harrison's paper, and in speaking editorially of the growth of the city it says:

All honor to the men who are proceeding to build up the great mountain capital in this substantial way. Their faith is shown forth in their works that will live after them, and the men who hold large amounts of unimproved property for the rise in values which the enterprise of public-spirited citizens assured, should not be kicking at the present valuation, but should rather lend their aid in making the city attractive and even more prosperous than it is.

It would be more reasonable to exempt the men who build, or to favor them, than to permit the holders of vacant property to escape their share of the burden of taxation. Much of this vacant property is an eyesore and a disfigurement to the town. Lots in the lower part of the city and in the vicinity of the railroad depots are in such a condition as to act as a positive drawback to the town by causing a bad impression upon the minds of people passing through.

Good single tax doctrine, every word of it.

In the October Atlantic Monthly W. D. McCrackan has an article on "Aldorf and the Landesgemeinde of Uri," which is worth reading. Aldorf is the village linked with the legend of William Tell, and in its environs the affairs of the canton of Uri are annually legislated for in an open-air assembly of all the men twenty years of age and upward. In describing the village Mr. McCrackan notes that a sort of aristocracy exists, composed of the more well-to-do, but that their position is in no way abused in a political sense, for absolute democracy and equality of rights are strictly enforced by the constitution. He ascribes the origin of the paradox of an aristocracy in a democracy to feudal times. In reading over the cantonal constitution Mr. McCrackan has discovered a remarkable privilege granted the people of this canton by the Vatican, namely, that every parish has the right to elect its own priests and thus control their actions in all matters of public welfare. The schools are entirely in the hands of the priesthood. There are no Protestants in the canton, but owing to the privilege above mentioned there are checks upon the power of the clergy.

Mr. McCrackan thinks the landesgemeinde has its origin in the social and political organization of the early German tribes. He thus describes it:

On the first Sunday in May, each year, the voting population of Uri, all men of twenty and upward, meet upon a meadow just off the great St. Gothard carriage road, about two miles south of Aldorf. A procession is formed after service in the church and the officers and magistrates of the canton, together with the voters, repair to the spot. A wooden stand built in the shape of an amphitheater furnishes seats; in the center the chief magistrate and the governor take positions at a table. After an address by the chief magistrate and a prayer the regular business of the meeting begins. The speakers are closely listened to, and when a vote is taken it is by a show of hands. Appeals against measures passed are made in writing.

Mr. McCrackan in concluding his description of the landesgemeinde says:

Never had I seen the state placed on so high a plane, or the functions of government so nearly endowed with ideal attributes; for I realized that these rude peasants are more truly sovereign than any crowned ruler, and that their assembly * * * is neither antiquated nor outworn, but filled with the spirit of perennial youth. * * * The primitive Swiss cantons are at once the oldest democracies in existence and the most radical. * * * In them the maximum of flexibility has been reconciled to the strongest conservatism, and that without bombastic assertions of equal rights or theoretical definitions of liberty, but naturally and without premeditation. * * * The landesgemeinde * * * is the expression of pure democracy, for which humanity has always striven and will always strive. * * * What is the secret of its success in Switzerland? The candid observer will find an answer in the surprising equality which reigns among the men who compose the assembly. * * * But above all other influences (and this it is which statesmen might study) must be counted the system of the "allmend," the system by which a part, at least, of the land in every Gemeinde or commune has not been allowed to fall into the hands of private owners, but has been reserved for public use. * * *

The use of this domain is governed by rules which vary in different cantons, and often in neighboring gemeinden; in some it is the common property of all; in others, of a privileged class, generally the lineal descendants of the original settlers. There can be no doubt that this system has contributed more than any other factor toward making the great extremes of wealth and poverty impossible in the primitive cantons, and giving every man an interest in the soil. The reason for this becomes obvious when we consider that great wealth, in its ultimate analysis, almost always springs from the exclusive control of certain natural opportunities, or, more briefly, from the monopolization of land, with all which that term implies. These rustics, by treating at least some of the total supply of land as common property, exclude the possibility of the complete monopolization of land and the resulting concentration of wealth into the hands of a few. * * * It seemed to me as I watched the ancient assembly that the landesgemeinde confirmed a principle of inestimable value. History teaches that all democracies sooner or later end in anarchy or are transformed into despotic governments, unless they can guarantee to the people something more than mere political equality, which soon becomes a delusive sham in the presence of great economic inequalities. The venerable democracy of Uri reminds us that where this true equality reigns, or wherever a reasonable approximation toward it is reached, there the most stable and abiding of states can be reared and its maintenance intrusted with perfect confidence to the people themselves, acting without intermediaries.

We have received inquiries as to when the photograph of the delegates to the conference and their friends will be ready. A day or two after the picture was taken it was proposed to index each person appearing in it by number and name. This was, in this case, a very difficult undertaking, as when the proof was ready most of the delegates had returned home, and no one man could be found who was sufficiently familiar with all the faces on the picture to name them. Mr. H. L. Plerce of San Francisco spent two weeks attending to this, and succeeded in getting most of the names. The work is now in the hands of the photographer. The preparing of the plate will necessarily take some time, as each person on the original has to be numbered, and then the whole will have to be recopied. We have orders at present for about three hundred. It will take some time to make these, so that all the orders on hand cannot be filled at once; but they will be attended to in the order in which they were received. We see no safer or cheaper way to send the picture through the mails than to send them unmounted in a regular mailing tube, together with the index printed on a slip of paper, that may be pasted on the card when finished. Of course those receiving the pictures will have to get a local photographer to mount them, but that ought to cause but a slight expense. Those who have seen the unfinished proof pronounce it a very good picture and true as to likenesses, and the photographer promises to have the finished proof much better, but says we cannot have the first pictures for at least two weeks.

In answer to requests for information about Michael Davitt's paper, the Labour World, we publish the following: All business letters must be addressed to Mr. A. W. Faulkner, manager Labour World, 263 Strand, London, W. C., England;

checks and money orders to be made payable to the Labour World News Company, Limited. Subscription to the United States: Three months, 2s. 2d.; six months, 4s. 4d.; twelve months, 8s. 8d.

The Bulletin of the American iron and steel association, published at Philadelphia, in its issue of September 17 prints the platform of the single tax league without criticism or comment.

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For the convenience of persons wishing to send THE STANDARD on trial to their friends, we have prepared recruit subscription books. They are handsomely bound in heavy alligator paper, and sold at prices regulated by the number of blanks in each book.

These blanks are each an order on THE STANDARD to send the paper for four weeks to the person designated, and they save all trouble of remittance as they are paid for in advance. As soon as one of the blanks reaches our business office a postal card is sent to the person designated, informing him that at the request of the sender THE STANDARD will be sent to him for four weeks, beginning with the next issue, and that in case he does not wish to continue it it will be stopped at the end of that time. This attracts more attention to it than is given to a sample copy sent out directly from the office.

Every active worker for the single tax should have in his pocket a recruit subscription book, in order that he may be able to tear out the blanks and order the paper sent to anyone with whom he has been having an argument on the subject. If our friends will use the stubs in the books and keep a record of those to whom they order the paper sent they will be able to follow the matter up and probably make converts. The price of the books is as follows:

Five subscriptions \$1 00
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THE STANDARD,

No. 19 Union square, New York city.

CHRISTIANITY'S DUTY TO THE INDUSTRIAL SLAVES.

Bishop Huntington in October Forum.

Recent certified revelations have laid bare the multiplied horrors and depravities of the tenement population in great cities, where forty-one out of every hundred families live each in a single room, where the poorest pay more rent than the richest for each cubic foot of space and air. These facts put it beyond question that, in the name of a common humanity, and as sure as there is an ethical element in Christianity at all, there are social sins and human equities which have a more urgent and imperative claim on the consideration of ecclesiastical councils and of weekly sermons than any questions of discipline, ritual, hymnology, or predestination. It is not necessary to call out the names of real estate tyrants or savage sweaters in New York and Philadelphia. There is a sense of right, after all, which can be reached and stirred without personal vituperation, by men called and set apart to holy offices, if they are sincere and candid, and if there lives agree with their preaching. Is it said this would foster violence and provoke insurrectionary clamor? Telling the truth has generally been safe in the long run, and it was never safer than it is now, when the truth is likely to be told at any rate. An earnest and patient treatment of social wrongs by a wide and large-hearted church is as likely as congress or the courts to heal discontent and forestall insurrection. Suppose the churchmen and the dissenters had seen their duty, and had discharged it with clearheadedness and courage; who can doubt that English statesmen, parliament, and people would have found out in less than three generations that, through monstrous manufacturing interests and their incalculable profits, England, since the factory system came in, has made itself infamous by the most hideous and brutal form of slavery ever known to the civilized world—the white slavery which, on a vast scale, has tasked, tortured and slaughtered children under ten years of age, exterminated chastity and decency in the dwellings of factory workers, turned men into bitches, and made society into a hell! Would Lord John Russell's remark still be true, that "it takes England forty years to accomplish a reform admitted to be necessary?"

THE DISEASE IN AN ACUTE FORM.

Chicago Herald.

A farmer near Joliet has become crazy over the tariff question. He breaks out into fits of terrible violence at times, and when on the way to the asylum he escaped from his keepers and fought like a tiger when recaptured. The farmers who vote for the tariff behave more quietly than this unfortunate man, perhaps, but they are just as crazy.

THEY DON'T THINK IT FUNNY AT ALL.

Philadelphia Record.

It is a good joke on the administration that it has been pouring out money to meet duties on imports which, according to whimsical protectionist theories, the foreign exporter has to pay.

ELOQUENCE BY PROXY.

St. Louis Republic.

Senator Ingalls' eloquence is now chiefly put forth by proxy by the sheriff's deputies who read the eviction notices of the Southern Kansas mortgage company in a persuasive tone that never fails to move their hearers.

CONGRATULATING THE SINGLE TAXERS.

Journal of the Knights of Labor.

We cordially congratulate the believers in the single tax on the encouraging success of the conference held in New York in the beginning of the month. The large representation of single tax organizations all over the country and the unanimity and enthusiasm displayed show how deeply the ideas promulgated in "Progress and Poverty" have taken root. It is gratifying to note, moreover, that a considerable number of those taking part were Knights of Labor. The movement is now for the first time organized on a national scale and with something like adequate machinery for the work of propaganda undertaken. In this educational work there is nothing to prevent labor reformers, who on other questions, and especially as regards political action, differ widely with the single tax men, lending their hearty co-operation. If we cannot agree with them in all respects, either as to the methods to be pursued or the ultimate objects to be sought, that need be no bar to our working side by side for the enlightenment of the public as to the injustice and the danger of land monopoly. It is becoming continually more apparent that unrestricted private land ownership is reducing the landless masses to a condition of virtual serfdom. Every dollar added to the nominal value of land—and every year sees that value increase by leaps and bounds—represents a tax laid upon the industry of the country. It adds so much to the volume of capital, the interest upon which must be paid from production. Every increase of the population renders the soil more valuable, whether for purposes of production or residence or trade, and so puts into the pockets of the holder of land money which he did nothing to earn. The workingman—not a land owner—who thoughtlessly rejoices over the figures of the census showing the increase of the population of New York or Chicago or Philadelphia—is really chucking over the fact that an additional burden has been loaded upon the backs of himself and his unborn posterity. Every fortune "made" by land speculation is not money that has been already earned by somebody's labor, but the value of opportunities to tax labor in the future. These truths should be universally understood by workingmen, and their influence brought to bear to secure for the whole people those advantages arising from the growth of population which now accrue to a few monopolists. The single tax advocates have done and are doing a great and needed work in arousing the public mind and conscience to the gross injustice of the system, and, therefore, we are rejoiced to see that they are pushing on the work of organization. The New York single tax conference will probably result in increased activity in spreading the principles which they and ourselves hold in common. If the enlightenment of the masses of the people on the land question goes on as rapidly for the next few years as it has in the past, we shall witness great changes in public sentiment and far-reaching legislation dealing with the evil before the close of the present decade.

THE CAUSE OF IRELAND'S MISERIES.

Boston Globe.

"Pay no rent," says William O'Brien to the poor peasantry of Munster and Connaught. "Pay no rent" is the cry which is being taken up all over Ireland.

The threatened famine brings out clearly once again the truth that such patriots as Michael Davitt have always held—the truth that lay at the foundation of the Land league—that nothing can really lift Ireland from the slough of poverty unless it strikes at the cause of Ireland's miseries—rent.

It is rent that makes the real famine. There has never been a year when Ireland did not produce an abundance of food for her own people. There never was a year in which food products were not exported to pay rent! Rent is the ogre that consumes the substance of the people, whether they produce much or little. When the crops partially fail this ogre eats the little ones.

Home rule is a glorious cause for Ireland, but in the presence of famine even home rule becomes secondary to those principles on which the Land league was founded.

DEFEW'S MOTTO.

Flatbush, N. Y., Press.

Chauncey Depew has been talking to the farmers, and has even undertaken to furnish them with a motto, to wit: "It is reciprocity, retaliation and revenue." To us it looks as if reciprocity is pure free trade; retaliation, the cutting off of one's nose to spite another fellow's face; and revenue, as likely to be the question the farmers and other citizens must face when custom houses are once for all abolished. And, by-the-by, when you come to think of it, is it not strange that people look up on the custom house system as anything else than a very disagreeable necessity, or a monument to incapable statesmanship?

A DEFINITION WITH A DIFFERENCE

Burr Oak, Kan., Western Advocate.

A strike is a conspiracy of ignorant, socialist workmen. A lockout is the unalienable, inalienable right of a corporation to manage its own affairs free from outside dictation.

A ROBBERS' AID SOCIETY.

Nashville American.

The people did have some hope that the senate would cut down taxes on the necessities of life, but that body has shown itself to be nothing more than a robbers' aid society.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

HE HAS SEEN IT.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Some time since I obtained a copy of "Progress and Poverty." It required some time and patience and study for me to absorb its truths, and I would scarcely have fully comprehended it in its entirety had I not afterward found and read "Protection or Free Trade?" As I studied page after page of this work, knowing at last the harbor into which I was surely sailing, the simplicity, the truth, and the justice of the single tax burst upon me as bright as the sun itself. I subscribed for THE STANDARD; I have received the first copy, and have read it with deep interest. The economic questions of civilized humanity have been solved to my satisfaction, and to the man Henry George I would pay the homage of a man grateful for being shown the truth. To me the single tax is now an axiom, a self-evident truth, solving the problem of the destiny of the human race on earth.

In my humble way, I wish to be a disciple in the good cause, and to do all I can to propagate the truth in this, my mountain home. I, with my little family, left my own state, Nebraska, as fair a prairie land as the sun shines on, because times were hard. It is somewhat better here. There are as yet more opportunities; but how long will they last? A ready demoralizing effects of the real estate boomers have been felt; already the hands of selfish greed are putting a wall around the fertile valleys and the silver veined mountains, and are saying to the laborer, the farmer, the prospector and the miner, "Do not trespass; this is ours; ours the rich loam of the land of the 'prickly pear'; ours the gathered forces of nature, that the Almighty has placed here from the foundations of the earth, waiting to receive the seeds that produce the food of man; ours the unborn fruits of years to come; ours the very streams that irrigate the soil; ours the buried treasures in the bowels of the earth; ours the gold and silver, the copper and the lead."

With mortgaged farms and bonded mines the young state of Montana is being fast locked up by the landlord for the purpose of speculating on the future population, and the number of idle hands increases. The earth, our mother, is bountiful, and from her bosom spring nourishment, aye and more, for all the children of men; like a never ceasing fountain are forces of nature, abounding with every good thing to satisfy our wants; food, as the sands of the seashore, for our hunger, cotton and wool and silk for our raiment; the petrified forests of the infant creation for our fuel, and mountains of granite and lime and clay to build the habitations of man; flowers, levelier than the handiwork of art, to teach us the beautiful in life, and scenery grander than thought to touch the depths of the human soul; iron for the structure of the hardy tools of life; precious gems and metals for the adornment of all; yet want to-day dwarfs the souls of thousands of our race, and the products of labor, owned by the idle, fail to nourish the beings that gave them existence.

In my own state of Nebraska I have known farmers to burn corn for want of money to buy coal, and at the same time coal mines were shut down on account of over-production!

I am a member of the Knights of Labor in this city. They, with the other labor organizations, and the farmers' granges, have nominated a labor ticket this fall; they realize that something is hurting them, and they are trying to find out what it is; they are beginning to think as never before. As a test I can, I am scattering the seeds of single tax among those I know, and may some bring forth fruit is my earnest wish.

H. M. TICHENOR.

P. O. Box 521, Helena, Mont.

AROUSE WOMEN FROM THEIR LETHARGY.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: The discussion in THE STANDARD of last week on the advisability of women organizing a separate union for furthering the interests of the single tax seems to center about the speeches made in the convention by Mr. Hicks and Professor Garland. I think the position of the women who believe in the single tax has been misunderstood. I for one do not believe that either Mr. Hicks or Professor Garland meant to insinuate that women are inferior to the men in ability or in possibilities of action, and that therefore they should work separately. It is because they are fitted by nature to do one kind of work and men another, that they could do better work separately. I quite agree with Mr. Hicks that nature has placed the sexes on such different planes of action that they could succeed better, each working by itself.

That they could do better working separately, and not that they should (by any moral or legal right) work separately, is his position, it seemed to me as I read the report of the convention. I, as a woman, have never before taken any active interest in the furtherance of the cause, but I cannot now keep silent when I see presented to our sex an opportunity for getting together and doing something to call women out of a lethargy like that in which I have been slumbering, and which I so deeply regret.

MISS M. B. SAMFRON.

21 Strong place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

A GOOD YEARLING.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I inclosed an express order for \$1.25, for a half year's subscription to THE STANDARD, in a letter in advance of this. Although I can hardly spare the money I feel I am under an obligation of duty to myself and every poor man to take THE STANDARD, which has been and is working so nobly for us. I did not know of the single tax movement about a year ago, although I have constantly read different newspapers. Comparatively few people now know or understand what the movement really is. I do not suppose I should have known even now if it had not been for the enrolment committee sending me enrolment books and literature. I send my hearty thanks and congratulations to the enrolment committee, the Memphis committee and the single tax letter writers' admirable corps. A lecture bureau is needed, but that wants consideration.

The movement is for justice against greed and selfishness. When the people understand what the single tax really is, all good people must come on our side. In my judgment the single tax platform is just right. We now want to see no alterations in it till we get the single tax. The last cause is well put in. The conference acted very wisely in not countenancing a third party movement. Change of name of party is not what we want. We want justice, and the way to get it is to support those only who act honorably. Brazil, Iowa.

W. F. WAKELING.

A CALL FOR UNITED EFFORT.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: The time has now come when all who labor for their living should combine in one organization for common defence and the common good. There must be some one point upon which all can agree, and it is the first duty of all to concentrate their force upon this point, and when this has been done "public opinion" has been focalized and made to do the bidding of those who have heretofore produced the wealth of the world, but have been restricted in their rights. If, while keeping up their separate trade or labor organizations for specific purposes, all were to unite upon some one desired measure, this of itself would constitute "public opinion," and nothing could withstand the force of such a power. Let all trade or labor organizations, whatever their name or location may be, irrespective of their particular color or calling, disregard for the present all minor issues upon which there is or may be any difference of opinion, and unite upon some one desired measure, force this issue, and this alone, and success will be assured. As long as labor is divided in its aims and efforts so long will needed reforms be deferred, and the many continue to be the prey of the unscrupulous few.

In the face of impending danger, let all true liberty lovers unite to face a common foe, and so save to themselves and to their posterity the right of freedom to produce, freedom to exchange and freedom to enjoy. Let the oppressed no longer ask for sympathy or aid. If they, having the power within their grasp, do not seize and wield it to their own good, they are unworthy of the liberty their own stupidity and aimless efforts deny to them; for it is not other men who enslave, by cunningly devised laws or established customs, but they themselves who fetter the limbs that should be free. To say that there is no common ground upon which all the oppressed can stand; to say that there is no one measure of relief for which all good men can contend; to say that there is no one reform upon which all well wishers of their race can unite; to say that there is no one question of public interest upon which the people desire in common a betterment, is to say that there is already substantial equality among men as to their rights; that there is no injustice in our present social and political systems; that there is no enforced idleness, with its attendant train of dire distress, on the part of some, and inordinate accumulation of wealth on the part of others; that there is no wrong that needs resistance, no right that needs assistance, no improvement in the distance. When the masses realize that they want any-

thing, and that they have within their own hands the power to supply that want, then will they unite their forces and the supply be equal to the demand. Since freedom to produce is the first in natural order—for existence depends upon production—let all true men demand equal access to natural opportunities for production, and this secured, the next step will be more easily taken, because we shall then be going in the right direction.

EDWARD QUINCY NORTON.

A PROTEST.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: As one graduate of Columbia college, I want to protest against the egotism shown by Professor Seligman in his speech at Saratoga before the Local science association. Personally, I do not believe that the professors of my alma mater have a monopoly of the truths of economic thought.

E. L. RYDER, Class '82.

Sing Sing, N. Y., Sept. 26.

HOW SHALL WE VOTE?

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: On several occasions during the past year I have had some suggestions to make to New York city single tax men through your columns as to the policy of practising the wisdom of the serpent rather than the harmlessness of the dove in our political action, by allying ourselves so far as possible with the only organization through which we can fairly expect to secure the election of congressmen and state legislators who will do anything to forward our principles. That organization, I need not explain, is Tammany hall, which is still clearly the local representative of the democratic party, and as such is beyond question the most available medium through which we can work on our accepted principle of seeking out and following the lines of least resistance, rather than those on which that is greatest.

During the past year Tammany made one conspicuous and particularly stupid blunder, in opposing its influence to ballot reform; and if that issue were still before us it would be almost incumbent on single tax men, recognizing the necessity of this reform, to make war on Tammany on the question of ballot reform alone. But this is a matter that is past and gone with the adoption of the new law; and there is no earthly political sense in cherishing resentments over it. If we are going to work for practical ends we had better give our attention unreservedly to what lies before us, not what has concerned us in the past.

To us the all-absorbing struggle this year must be that for the overthrow of control by monopolists through the republican party of the national government, and the progress on these lines toward a liberation of industry from the fetters of the protective tariff. Whether our sympathies lie on the side of the independent movement inaugurated by the Peoples' municipal league, or whether we believe (as personally I still do) that much of the present attack on Tammany is unreasonable clamor, that because of the general absorption of our citizens in their business affairs, the conduct of municipal politics is a perhaps regrettable but nevertheless inevitable business matter; which must be intrusted to some responsible body, and which it is far more safe to trust to professional politicians commanding the confidence of the great majority of the voters as fully as the present Tammany leaders have shown themselves to do rather than to the remittent energy of amateurs who always have to call in the aid of far less reputable professionals to do the work after the first flush of excitement is over—which ever view we adopt as to the municipal contest, it remains indisputable that this is only a secondary question for us to the congressional one, and that of the two leagues our first allegiance is due to that organized for the purpose of getting better representatives in congress.

How to reach this end is a practical question of the very highest importance. It is at least worth considering whether we had not better establish friendly relations with Tammany rather than hostile ones, with the hope of having it on our side in the next national convention; but without looking so far ahead, it is simple folly for us to think of winning anything in the congressional districts this year in direct antagonism to so powerful an organization. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that Tammany, whose primary interest is in the municipal government, will especially consider free traders, or the tariff reformers who are marching in the free trade ranks, if we treat its special candidates as our enemies. Some sort of comity is and must be practiced in political relations as in most human affairs. We cannot expect to take everything and give nothing; and it follows that it is simply ordinary political sense, and, indeed, only common fairness, for us to give Tammany at least some mea-

sure of support for its city ticket (not of course in any organized shape, as such organization as we have has nothing properly to do with municipal politics, but as individuals) in the event that Tammany should put forward suitable candidates for congress next month. And, of course, the converse of this is equally true—that if Tammany shows no disposition to do what we want on this most important of questions, then it is clearly our duty to our own cause to retaliate to the best of our ability by presenting a solid front against the success of the Tammany local ticket.

Nor does this line of action necessarily involve our being absolute sticklers for the precise men that we may prefer to send to congress, and for no others. The congressional league has wisely not taken this position, but only that we should be given a chance to vote for the men of its selection or for others equally satisfactory. By judicious action on our part, at least two or three of the men who have been named can undoubtedly get the Tammany nomination that is equivalent to an election; and whatever concessions have to be made on our part, the entire delegation from this city will be very much improved; but we are more than likely to destroy our best chances if we present our demand in the character of foes rather than friends, or if we commit the even greater mistake of evincing too much anxiety to amuse ourselves with independent candidates simply because the new law gives us a chance. EDWARD J. SHRIVER.

A QUESTION FOR OUR FRIENDS TO ANSWER.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I have drawn up a law, to be enacted by our legislature the coming winter, to the effect that in all assessments of property for taxation in this state, lands and lots and the improvements thereon shall be assessed and valued separately and the separate values carried out in separate columns in all assessment and tax books, and no improved lands shall be assessed at a higher value than unimproved lands on account of such improvements. In our state the assessors assess the lands and improvements thereon together in a single valuation. This renders it impossible to determine the assessed value of the land or to compare such value with the assessed value of unimproved lands held for speculation. But it is notorious that all assessors assess such vacant lands at less than half the value put upon improved lands independent of the value of improvements.

Let me illustrate: A owns a farm assessed with improvements at \$6,000. No estimate of the improvements can make them worth more than \$4,000. This leaves \$2,000 as the assessed value of the land. B has an adjoining tract of equal extent and rental value not improved, which the assessor puts at \$1,000, so that the improved land, independent of improvements, pays twice the taxes of the land held for speculation. And this is mainly because of the sentiment which pervades a community, that improved land brings an income to the owner or occupier, while unimproved land does not. Of course you know that this sentiment is founded in utter ignorance of the true principles of the social economy, for the owner of improved property is enabled through his improvements to shift his taxes on to the people as consumers, while the owner of unimproved land is not. The tax, state and municipal, which is paid upon improved lands comes out of the pockets of the poor, while those paid by the land speculator who holds land out of use comes out of his own pocket; he cannot charge it up to or shift it upon any one else. He can only reimburse himself out of the "unearned increment" or the increase in value given to his land by the growth of surrounding population and wealth, which, as has been so often shown, belongs to the community and not to him. I need not dwell upon this idea. All taxes, therefore, taken from improved lands and put upon wild or unimproved lands is to the same extent a relief to the people—to the consumers.

On presenting this proposed law to the members-elect to the legislature for their consideration they want to know whether any other of the states have such a statute, and which of them, if any. Of this I cannot inform them. I have not the means of ascertaining. Can THE STANDARD furnish the information? SOL F. CLARK.

Little Rock, Ark.

A CARD FROM PRESIDENT ANDREWS.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: May I say through your columns a word to my many correspondents? On the evening of August 24 last, in the ordinary course of ministerial duty, I preached in Brooklyn a sermon on the strike then prevalent upon the Central road. Greatly to my surprise the discourse attracted wide notice. I immediately began to receive letters from people

either in condemnation or in praise of my utterances. Many came from single taxmen exhorting me to read "Progress and Poverty." I began answering these, but their number soon forced me to desist. I wish to say to all the people, readers of THE STANDARD, who did me the honor thus to address me, that I am well acquainted with the work referred to and with the other main writings of Mr. George. Respectfully,

E. BENJ. ANDREWS.

President's room, Brown university, Providence, R. I.

LOCAL APPLICATION OF THE TARIFF.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: We have here a coal company (North Jellico coal company) that makes a local application of the tariff in this way: They have a large territory of coal lands and a mining village of two to three hundred population. The company have nailed upon the telephone posts along the railroad large boards, on which is printed "No peddlers of merchandise are allowed on these grounds."

This company sells coal oil at 25 cents per gallon that is bought for about 7 to 8 cents wholesale; side meat 12½ cents that can be bought in any common country town at 8½ cents; vinegar at 40 cents per gallon and flour at \$8.40 per barrel. Everything else proportionately high. Yet this overgrown infant industry is afraid that some poor peddler will come into the village with his pack on his back and compete with them in selling merchandise. This is a straw that shows how the land monopolists would carry out the protective ideas if they could. They want men to work for them at their price, buy their goods at their prices, and so on. In fact, they want to take them to the doorpost, bore holes in their ears, and compel them to remain slaves forever.

S. P. HERRON.

Gray, Kent county, Kentucky, Sept. 21.

HELPING THE SPECULATORS.

A LITTLE BILL, QUIETLY PASSED BY CONGRESS, WHICH WILL MAKE A FEW MORE FORTUNES.

The New York Herald's Washington correspondent has the following to say about a neat little job to enrich some speculators and the Northern Pacific railroad: A little bill was slipped through the house Tuesday morning by unanimous consent, having previously passed the senate, and now to become a law with the president's signature, which will give a horde of hungry speculators and the Northern Pacific railroad company an opportunity to buy cheap from a band of half-starved Indians 700,000 acres of the most valuable mineral and agricultural lands in the gold and silver producing region of Montana, adjacent to the Yellowstone park.

The bill provides that the government shall pay a commission of three men to negotiate with the Crow Indians for the surrender of that part of their reservation lying south of the Yellowstone river and west of the divide between Prier creek and Clark's Fork river.

The unoccupied portion of the reservation which it is proposed to obtain is composed of rich valley lands, well watered and suited for agriculture, together with certain mountainous portions in which minerals have been discovered and developed to a considerable extent by prospectors. It is known that in the easterly portion of the strip, along the banks of the Clark's Fork river, there are splendid deposits of bituminous coal, while on the westerly edge of the reservation the deposit of gold, silver, copper and lead ores is known to be extensive.

The Northern Pacific railroad extends along and to some extent through this westerly portion of the reservation along the Yellowstone river, and upon the south of the reservation lies the big mining camp of Cooke city, and Red Lodge and other mining towns are adjacent.

It was claimed in support of the bill that the reservation is of no use to the Indians and is a bar to the development of the country. This is true to the extent that the Indians have been wise enough to hold on to the lands, awaiting an allotment of the lands in severalty to the members of the tribe, when they could sell as they chose and to their best advantage. There is another bill relating to this section which is suspected of containing elements of considerable advantage to a few designated persons. It proposes to grant the Montana mineral railway the right of way through a certain strip of land between Cooke city and Cinnabar. The strip includes a mountain pass which contains the only feasible route between the two mining centers, and if granted to one corporation will be a plum of the most luscious nature.

The proposed beneficiaries argue that to give any and all roads the right of way will be simply to give it to the Northern Pacific, as that road will bluff out any others proposing to build. The Northern Pacific people are naturally opposed to the pending bill and are fighting it.

THAT IS, A DEMOCRATIC INCREASE.

Atlanta Constitution.
Mr. Robert P. Porter is the typical protectionist. He is even anxious to protect the country against an increase of population.

KEYSTONE SONNETS.

PENNSYLVANIA.

She bore the title of the Keystone state
And had for motto *Virtue, Liberty*
And *Independence*. Virtue led these three,
As it had led the founder, who was great

Because he followed. Here they forged the date
That marks our nation's birth, and man, set free,
Has made the year a time of jubilee.
Then they despised a royal potentate.

How changed! How changed the growth is
From the seed!
Pull down a mighty king and take for chief
A simple pander to the vilest greed!

We see strange things, but this is past belief;
Penn's commonwealth, where Franklin used to lead,
The pocket borough of a common thief!

THE MAN OF STRAW.

Hired by the job with promises to pay,
In mock compliance with the forms of law,
His delegates ann: once the man of straw
Vouchsafed to govern us by Matthew Quay.

Respect and confidence are due, they say,
This branded thief, and now when hints of flaw
Drop in the senate, all that they can draw
Is "you'll be answered on election day."

He means by this but this, that he can do
Nothing the Keystone state would dare de-
spise.
O Pennsylvania, is the vaunting true!

Then shall we see the shrouded corpse arise
And bless, together with the hand that slew,
The knave that stole the pennies off its eyes.

THE KING-MAKER.

Where all is ripe and rotten for the worm,
Who counts a single maggot more or less?
Among our statesmen, should a thief con-
fess,

Would any stop to brand him with the term?
We knew this pot-house Warwick would
stand firm,
And rub their canting noses in the mess;

He made them with his bribes, and they
must bless
Their maker, while he laughs to see them
squirm.

So much we looked for, knowing how the
great
Despise the petty morals that belong
To such as neither lead nor legislate.

This we knew not—that crime had grown
so strong
In Pennsylvania, that they rob the state,
And make her say that stealing is no wrong.

EXPIATION.

The years, they say, bring wisdom: this
makes eight
Since our old master found that we could
rise.

He named a governor without disguise
And Pennsylvania told his man to wait.
We triumphed, but we learned our loss too
late!

And now we sound his virtue to the skies,
This good Proprietor! Alas! he lies
Shorn of his glory, like a broken slate!

The sun beams down, but brings our souls no
joy;
The stars grow pale and fade upon our
grief:

All hope has vanished and all pleasures cloy.
We mourn, we mourn, we mourn without
relief,
For though the gold of praise may bear alloy,
The boss we lost was not a common thief.

HONOR AMONG THIEVES.

We'll give the Keystone boss no chance to
sneer
At mealy-mouthed mugwump morality
This time. The chorus of our song shall be
Such as the jail birds understand, this year.

We'll take his tune, we'll grant that all men
here
In Pennsylvania should be glad to see
Protection go from tax to robbery.

Our fellows, too, shall cock an eye and leer.
Let us go in for honor among thieves;
Since everybody does it and believes
It's quite the proper thing in any man;

But let us have some honor among thieves;
Cracking the common till is Quay's old plan;
He'd take it all and give us what he leaves.

THE KEYSTONE G. O. P.

Long may we lead, as we so long have led,
The Grand Old Party in the grand old way;
Long may the glorious Keystone state
display

The fond devotion that our foemen dread.
Virtue and Liberty, it seems, are dead,
And *Independence*, too, has gone to stay;
But new devices better serve the day:
Our motto is *Pig-Iron* and *Pig-Head*.

We need no shams to keep our friends in line
Here in this commonwealth at this late
date;
We shut one eye and conquer in that sign.

Why waste our wits and patience in debate
Where any mouthing theorist could shine?
There's work to do, a thief to vindicate.

THE SELF PROTECTIONIST.

Get him a reed that sounds republican,
This Philadelphia fat philanthropist;
Get him a harp and with its chords assist
The summer sweet, melodious pipes of Pan.

Let music follow with soft airs to fan
All gloomy visions to a golden mist,
While toilers hear the self-protectionist
Tell them how much he loves the working-
man.

Get him a bouncing big base drum to beat
If any ask whose wages went to pay
The bribes that set his party on its feet,

Or why some work while others steal their
way,
And whether honesty is obsolete:
Get him a gun for those who mention Quay.

TOIL ON!

Toil on, innumerable millions, toil.
Make the world rich, increase and multi-
ply.
Does the hand tire?—thank God that men
may die;

Look for a shallow grave; enrich the soil.
Is the brain tired, does the dull mind recoil
At endless striving for the wage to buy
Strength to strive on, and ask, "For whom
and why

This heaping of the hoard and of the spoil?"
"For whom and why?" For those whom Provi-
dence

Wills to feed fat. Is this not our belief?
Shall duty falter on the vain pretence
That these new lords would shame a robber
chief,

Stealing without the risk of violence,
Through the law-mongers marshaled by a
thief?

THE COLOR BEARER.

He held the flag, and youth, that made him
wise
To spurn the craft of age, upheld his heart.
He bore the color where the crowded mart
Recked with the sweat of gold, but in his
eyes

Their azure answered to the cloudless skies;
Their starry field was heaven's counterpart,
And shone resplendent with the rays that
start

The sacred, mystic flame of sacrifice.
He passed, and as he went, with air sublime,
I thought, could he succumb within a span
To pimping senates and debauching Time!

Could such as he, though cursed with triple
ban,
Forget a soldier's honor in the slime
And turn professional Grand Army Man?

ANSWER, NO!

Is the time ripe? Shall the new lords who
set
Their huckster trade-mark on the men that
we

Still make pretence of choosing, shall they
be
Clothed with the power of the bayonet?

Has the day come when the fat purse may
threat
Vengeance in open senate, publicly,
And force the state to call it, by decree,
Master in title as in fact? Not yet!

They work too fast, these varlets, in their
zeal,
To pay the dues of service that they owe;
They strive to rob when they can only steal;

With all our coast unarmed against the foe,
They ask for gold to rend the commonweal,
These bargain-counter statesmen. Answer,
no!

LOUIS BELROSE, JR.

Crum Lynne, Del. Co., Penn.

PERSONAL.

In a business letter to THE STANDARD dated
Topeka, Kan., September 15, Judge Maguire
says: "I had a very nice reception in Chi-
cago. I will remain here until Saturday
noon, speaking here Wednesday evening,
and in Denver Sunday night."

Mr. and Mrs. Bolton Hall, who have been
spending the summer in Europe, sailed in the
Bretagne on September 20 for this port.

Will Kennedy, editor of the Boulder, Mont.,
Age, has been proposed as a candidate for
state senator from Jefferson county to rep-
resent the single tax principle. The nomina-
tion will be by individuals, in accordance
with the new ballot act of that state, and if
it is decided that he shall make the run the
nominating paper will be filed with the clerk
and recorder of the county.

The Boston Globe has these pleasant words
to say regarding our good friend, Senator
Garvin of Rhode Island: "To the active,
disinterested and self-sacrificing efforts of
Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, a Rhode Island physi-
cian, is largely due the success of manhood
suffrage in that state. In proposing to send
him to congress the democrats of little
Rhody do fitting honor to a true democrat
and a noble man."

BALLOT REFORM.

THE COST OF ELECTIONS.

SOME COOKED FIGURES INTENDED TO CREATE
PREJUDICE AGAINST THE NEW ELECTION
LAW.

New York Sun of Sept. 24.

The beauties and benefits of the new elec-
toral ballot law are gradually unfolding
themselves to the interested vision of the
voters. It is going to cost nearly half a
million dollars (\$464,743) to hold this year's
election in this city, and the new electoral
law which the reformers have been loud in
advocating and commending causes the ad-
dition of \$220,000 of this amount, or nearly
\$1 per voter throughout town.

Last year the appropriation for election
purposes was \$243,220. This year it is to be
\$467,481. Of this latter sum, a considerable
portion is to go to the payment of 3,788 func-
tionaries, who are to act as election inspec-
tors. Half of the number are wholly super-
fluous. The number of officials at each poll-
ing place under the old law was only six,
which is increased under the new law to
eight. These eight, with the United States
supervisors added, bring up the total this
year to ten. In the number of these wholly
unnecessary election functionaries there are
to be 1,894 poll clerks, who are to be paid
\$12 each for a single day's work, although
thousands of able-bodied men are rendering
laborious manual service to the city in other
departments at \$1.50 a day each, and thou-
sands of persons in the community are with-
out work of any kind. There are also to be
1,894 ballot clerks, for whom no compensation
has been fixed, or is by law allowed, for
whose contingent payment some \$19,000 is to
be put aside. The taxpayers of this city are,
in addition to these items, to be charged at
the rate of \$50 for each separate polling
place, which is \$10 for every day of registry
or voting for each location, and the provi-
sions of the new electoral law are such that
in 200 other polling places special election
apparatus must be constructed at the public
expense, to an additional cost of some
\$30,000. Again, these portable polling places
must be furnished, after the fashion of new
flats, with necessary fixtures at a cost of
\$4,500, and soap boxes must be provided for
the temporary imprisonment of the voters at
a cost of \$30,774.

Although the city already possesses sev-
eral thousand ballot boxes suitable for every
conceivable requirement, the law requires
the construction of entirely new ballot boxes,
to cost \$4,500. Besides this, \$2,000 must be
paid from the pockets of the people for truck-
ing and carting, and \$12,000 for stationery
and maps, and in addition to this the city has
had to be redistricted at a further expense
of \$38,798, while the people are to be put to
the needless expense of printing 12,000 cards
of instruction in various modern and antique
languages; \$30,000, too, has been appropri-
ated for advertising, under the conditions
prescribed by the new law.

But the crowning absurdity of the whole
extravagant and unnecessary expenditure,
which falls upon the people, is the item of
\$54,000 for the printing of 18,000,000 ballots.
There are now in New York city less than
300,000 voters. The absurdity of printing
18,000,000 tickets for the use of these 300,000
voters, or sixty "official tickets" for each in-
dividual voter, ought of itself to convince
any rational person of the gross absurdity
and extravagance of the whole affair.

It seems to be the great pastime and diver-
sion of all reformers to put the voters to the
largest expense possible for the purpose of
securing the smallest attainable benefit.
Thus, without materially reducing the ex-
penses either of candidates or of parties,
every voting citizen of this city is to be
taxed one dollar this year in order that a
handful of persons, ignorant of politics and
of political conditions, may be permitted to
exploit at the public expense their pet the-
ories of stubs, perforated lines, numbered
citizens, horse stall balloting, and other
time wasting and oppressive appliances.

Every resident of New York must, directly
or indirectly, pay his or her share of this
unnecessary expense—\$220,000 this year.

Is it strange that professional reformers
are unpopular?

WANT IT IN MISSISSIPPI.

The Mississippi constitutional convention
has adopted an ordinance providing for the
manner of holding elections between Janu-
ary 1, 1891, and January 1, 1896, when the
franchise article of the new constitution is
to go into effect. The ordinance adopted is
substantially a copy of the Dutch law of
Tennessee. Its salient features are the fol-
lowing:

Ballots are to be printed and distributed at
public expense, and shall be known as official
ballots. On receiving his ballot the voter
shall forthwith go to one of the voting
shelves, tables or compartments, and shall
prepare his ballot by marking in the appro-
priate margin or place a cross opposite the
name of the candidate of his choice for each
office to be filled. He shall then cast his
ballot without undue delay, and quit the
voting enclosure as soon as he has voted. The
time allowed each voter to prepare his
ballot is ten minutes unless others are wait-
ing, when he shall be limited to five minutes.
Election inspectors are required to assist
voters marking ballots who are disabled by
blindness or other physical disability.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

THE MCKINLEY BILL.

The McKinley bill, as amended by the conference committee of the senate and house, passed the house last Saturday by a vote of 151 to 79. Messrs. Coleman of Louisiana, Featherstone of Arkansas and Kelly of Kansas, republican members of congress, voted with the democrats against the passage of the bill. The bill is now in the senate.

THE WORKINGMEN'S TARIFF REFORM LEAGUE.

HOLDING TRUCK MEETINGS IN THE EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT—THE SEVENTH DISTRICT TO BE ATTACKED NEXT SATURDAY EVENING.

The Workingmen's tariff reform league sent out its truck to the Eighth congressional district again last Saturday night. Two meetings were held, one at Hamilton square, the other at Rutgers square. A crowd of about two hundred people gathered at the first meeting, and about the same number at the second. The chairman, in opening the meeting, read an extract from the Times, showing the disastrous results that had already followed from the expected passage of the McKinley bill, in reducing the wages of workmen employed in a Buffalo manufacturing concern. The speakers were Messrs. Gilligan, Pender, Babcock, Van Veen and Klein. Mr. E. Hermann of the St. Paul single tax club, who is visiting in the city, accompanied the truck, and was very much impressed with what he saw and heard.

Next Saturday evening the league will send a truck into the Seventh congressional district, where meetings will be held at Abingdon square and at the corner of Eighth avenue and Thirteenth street.

TWO DOSES CURED HIM.

W. B. Addington, St. Louis.—Below I relate how free traders can be made even out of republicans. I have been trying for some time to make a "single taxer" out of a druggist friend of mine who is a republican. At first he was much interested in reading the single tax literature which I loaned him until he found out that single tax meant free trade. He then dropped the single tax question until his attention was forcibly directed to the tariff by the advance in price last summer of imported perfumery. Upon inquiry he found it was on account of the tariff. This opened his eyes, and he squirmed a little as I rubbed into him his fine republican protection plan.

This was the first time he had felt so directly the effects of "protection," and he admitted that he didn't like it. Again, last night his attention was still more forcibly aroused. A New York drummer was in to sell him some imported bay rum, the same as he had bought early in the spring. "But," says the drummer, "that same bay rum is worth one dollar more a gallon than it was last spring." "What's that for?" asks my druggist friend. "On account of the tariff," replied the drummer. "That settles it," said the druggist. "I don't vote any more with the republican party, if this is the way its tariff protects me," and then turning to me he said, "put me down a free trader." There is hope he may be a single taxer before long.

THE PECULIAR CHICAGO "TRIBUNE"

IT IS A STRAIGHT FREE TRADE PAPER UNTIL A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS ON.

Chicago Herald.

The Chicago Tribune now finds itself engaged in a political campaign, and it is therefore strenuously in favor of a monopoly tariff, which it advocates with all the false and foolish "argu ments" that play so important a part in the maintenance of every great wrong. In its issue of yesterday, referring to R. G. Mills of Texas, who is not more of a free trader than is the Tribune itself when no election is pending, it says:

Mr. Mills has been frank enough. He has told the people of Wisconsin that it is the intention of his democratic party to substitute for a protective tariff a "tariff for revenue only." That change would close every American factory or mill and bring the wages of the men employed in them and every other kind of business done in cities and towns down to the European standard. Are the Wisconsin voters quite ready for that change?

Let us secure an answer to this folly and falsehood from the Tribune itself. On the 5th of May, 1888, it said:

The lowest wages paid in this country for labor at all skilled are in industries having protection, and NONE OF THEM PAY MORE THAN THE MARKET RATE FOR LABOR, WHILE ALL STRIVE TO APPROPRIATE THE ENTIRE TARIFF BOUNTY TO THEMSELVES AND GIVE WORKMEN NO SHARE.

On the 11th of February, 1888, the Tribune said:

In point of fact protected workmen are the poorest paid town laborers in the United States, and the MORE HIGHLY PROTECTED THE FACTORIES ARE THE LESS THE WAGES.

On the 6th of January, 1888, the Tribune said:

New England has two strongly distinguished classes of population—tariff protected monopolies and coupon clippers so rich that they don't know how to spend their money, and pauper factory hands who NEVER GET A CENT'S WORTH OF PROTECTION OUT OF THE TARIFF.

The Herald might multiply these quotations almost without number, but the above will suffice. A campaign is on, Jim Blaine has winked and his servitors in all parts of the country have put their consciences to sleep. The monopolies are to be saved again, and the Chicago Tribune is foremost in the fight in their behalf.

DUTIES GO UP; WAGES GO DOWN.

New York Times, September 27.

According to the authorized expounders of the doctrine of protection, high duties on imports enable American manufacturers to pay high wages to their workmen—see republican national platforms and the public utterances of Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, Thomas B. Reed, Frank Hiscock, Nelson W. Aldrich and other republican statesmen. Therefore, if the doctrine is sound and its expounders truthful, the tariff bill reported to the two houses of congress by the conference committee yesterday should produce an immediate and considerable advance in wages, for it largely increases the customs duties on imported manufactures.

There is in New York an importer and commission merchant who imports the cloths made by about a dozen English mills, of which he is the agent. One of his customers is a large manufacturing firm in Buffalo, which buys of him a certain fabric extensively used in its factory. The English manufacturer's price for this fabric is about thirty cents a yard. The present duty is 110 per cent ad valorem, and the price here has been sixty-eight cents a yard. The new tariff bill imposes a duty of 140 per cent. The New York commission merchant informed his Buffalo customer that to meet this increased customs charge he had been compelled to add nine cents a yard to the price of the goods. We are permitted to make the following extract from a letter he has received from the manager of the Buffalo firm:

You were somewhat surprised that we could afford to pay the additional nine cents a yard for cloth, but I prepared our work people for it, and to-day, by making a cut equal to ten per cent on their wages all around, I have covered the amount and turned them all into good, sound democrats. That, I take it, is as good as a Yankee could do.

We present this to the sincere and to the unsincere among the protectionists and to befooled wage earners everywhere as an early and beautiful illustration of how the new tariff works.

PRECIOUS PROTECTION.

Springfield, Mass., Republican.

The protection which the McKinley bill offers the people from a long and cold winter just ahead, is made very clear in the published statements of the Chicago drygoods houses of John V. Farwell (a brother of the Illinois senator), Marshall Field & Co., and James H. Wacker. Prices of imported wool goods, they say, costing fifty cents a yard, will be increased on account of the bill to eighty-nine cents, and the cheaper the quality the greater will be the advance in prices. "The increased cost of the lower grades of foreign hosiery will be so enormous that it is really hard to forecast what effect will be had on prices." But imported goods will not alone be affected by the bill, of course. Manufacturers have already announced an advance of ten per cent on domestic wool dress goods, according to these authorities, and the higher prices on imported goods "will affect all home goods, including wool, linen, and many fancy articles, such as embroideries, lace curtains and gloves; but the higher and richer grades of goods will be increased but little." This will not prove very cheerful news for anybody, and particularly for the poor, at the beginning of the cold season. But the republican politicians must pay the campaign debt owing to the Pennsylvania monopolists, no matter what it costs the people.

IN THE CLEVELAND DISTRICT.

Cleveland, Ohio, Examiner.

Mr. Tom L. Johnson and W. W. Armstrong are seeking the nomination for congressman on the democratic ticket, and it remains to be seen which of the two will be selected by the convention.

Mr. Johnson is a democrat of the most progressive kind. He is not only in favor of democratic institutions, but he is anxious to improve and preserve them. He is in favor of the single tax and absolute free trade. He is opposed to sham tariff reform and machine politics, and to show his consistency he was opposed to Calvin S. Brice for United States senator. For this outspoken manly independence he is as much despised by the seven per cent tariff reformers and the machine as L. A. Russell and others are, and it remains to be seen whether the machine will accept him.

W. W. Armstrong is a democrat of the "now you see it, and now you don't" kind, or anything for office. He has been schooled in the Piano Dealer office, where principle is like the flea, "when you think you have it, it is somewhere else." He will favor tariff reform to the extent of a millionth part of a cent, in order that the heavy burdens of the people may be greatly reduced, if by so doing he can go to congress. He is in favor of the machine, in politics or anything else, if the machine and he can be benefited. Between these two the voters, with the consent of the machine, can have their choice, and we are

anxious to see which it will be. Tom and principle, or Armstrong and the machine.

IS PROTECTION JUST?

Omaha World.

Mr. Webster was not very fortunate in his selection of a subject to illustrate the benefits of protection to the masses when he cited the linseed oil mill at Omaha established twenty years ago by Mr. Clark Woodman and now owned by the Woodman-Ritchie company.

This company has had astounding prosperity, and on an investment of \$30,000 it has grown till it is now valued at over a million dollars, and pays dividends reported to equal \$100,000 a year. Mr. Webster says the tariff on flax seed and the oil that is made from it has made it possible to do this. Well, suppose it has. That is one of the things complained of. Mr. Woodman and Mr. Ritchie are citizens of whom Omaha is proud. Their public spirit and enterprise are pre-eminent, and their good deeds and good lives well known. But what right has government got by imposing taxes on others to enable them to make such enormous fortunes in twenty years on an investment of \$30,000?

It is very pleasant to reflect that these Omaha citizens have been able to amass so great a fortune in so short a time, but it should not be forgotten that the dollars which have come into their pockets have been taken from the masses. Mr. Webster says it is by law. Is it a just law?

IT IS A TAX.

Boston Globe.

Those who still argue in support of the exploded theories of the doctrinaire high protectionists are continually making damaging admissions which practically concede the truth of that which they formally deny, viz.: that tariff taxes are taxes upon our own people, not upon foreigners.

The Boston Journal has been one of the foremost defenders of the silly theory that the expenses of our very expensive government are not paid by the American people, but are shirked by them and thrown upon the shoulders of ill-paid wretches who work for a pittance in Sheffield cutlery shops or Welsh tin mines. That the tariff taxes American citizens by raising the prices of the things they buy, it will not for a moment admit.

And yet in its editorial we find the Journal accusing importers of having "imported far in excess of current demands, with a speculative intent of profiting by the anticipated rise in prices" in consequence of the passage of the McKinley bill. And, commenting with approval upon that dishonest provision of the bill which makes the increased duties apply to goods imported before it was passed, the Journal gleefully exclaims that these importers "have made a mistake in their attempt to discount the effect of such legislation and to make fortunes for themselves by the process."

How and why these importers expected to "make fortunes for themselves" or "profit by the anticipated rise in prices," if the tariff does not increase prices in this country, are things which the Journal should explain.

IT HURTS BOTH WAYS.

This is the opinion of the Merchants' association of Boston about the tariff:

That recognizing a tariff or duty laid upon foreign goods to be a tax which in its practical effect depreciates the price or value of goods in the foreign port as well as increases it in our own, we believe it to be just in principle and wise in policy, on the above basis, by negotiation to promote better commercial relations in such an adjustment of duties as shall stimulate and increase our trade with other people, enlarge our markets for the product of American skill and industry, and make more friendly our relations with those especially who dwell with us on the same continent.

A call has been issued for a meeting of colored men to be held at Poughkeepsie, October 13, for the purpose of forming a state league whose duties shall be to "form and assist in maintaining one colored tariff reform association in each assembly district within the state, and to bring together the colored voters of the state, to confer on future plans by which the negro vote may be fully discussed."

A MUCH NEEDED SCHOOL.

New York Times.

If some wealthy democrat would establish and generously endow a school of political tactics he would confer a priceless blessing on his party. The party has principles enough—four or five hundred, probably—and the one principle of tariff reform is a sufficient capital. Its greatest need is of men who have something more than an elementary knowledge of the business of "running a campaign." If the school we propose were founded and able professors appointed to deliver lectures on how to get out the vote, how to overcome apathy—that chronic complaint of the old party—how to put the issues before the people, how to beat the republicans at their own game, and how to find out what their game is, we have no doubt that it would be successful from the day its doors were opened, and the results of its teachings would be more conducive to the success of democratic candidates than the largest campaign fund ever raised. One obvious difficulty would be the necessity of engaging republican instructors. The democrats have none who are competent. But money would overcome that.

IT DOES NOT SCARE.

THE INDIANAPOLIS "SENTINEL" TRULY SAYS THE DEMOCRATS ARE NOT COMMITTED TO THE SINGLE TAX, BUT IT DOES NOT TAKE BACK ITS OWN OPINION.

Indianapolis Sentinel, Sept. 26.

A more dishonest, stupid, transparent and altogether idiotic piece of demagogism than the attempt of the republican managers and the Journal to inject the single tax question into the pending campaign could hardly be conceived of. The News of this city has this to say upon this absurd manifestation of partisan imbecility:

Now we have this "single tax" rot raised in the hope that it may prove spook to the farmers. The wicked democrats, they are told, believe in this single tax scheme to rob the farmer and make him bear all the expense of government—as if he had not been already sufficiently robbed by the tariff.

It is most interesting to watch the genesis of this spook. Some democratic paper has expressed its belief in the single tax idea. This is "worked" over two or three times; coupled on to the democratic party; then assumed to be the intention of the party; then intimated to be the real meaning of the democratic platform, and so it will go until in a few days all the partisan liars, from the lake to the river, will be staking their existence on the assertion that this is a campaign to prevent the democrats from putting the single tax into effect.

This senseless cry is raised upon the assumption that the farmers of Indiana are so hopelessly ignorant that they can be made to believe that the democratic party of Indiana has espoused the single tax cause, and that the single tax would involve an increase of their burdens. The farmers of Indiana, as a rule, are intelligent enough to understand the obvious meaning of simple language. The Journal and the republican managers evidently do not believe this, but it is a fact, nevertheless. The democratic platform has been printed in nearly all of the state papers and has, no doubt, been generally read by the farmers. It says:

We demand the adoption of a system of equalizing the appraisement of real and personal property in this state, to the end that an equal and proper uniformity in such assessments shall be secured, for the reason that under existing regulations many counties are compelled to pay an unjust proportion of the state's expenses, which others as unjustly escape.

This resolution not only does not point toward the single tax, but it specifically contemplates the continuation of the existing system under which personal property is taxed, or at least is made subject to taxation. Anybody who can read and whose thinking apparatus is not wholly broken down, does not need any assistance to an understanding of this resolution. It is as plain and clear as language can make it.

This being the case, the opinion of this or that newspaper or individual as to the single tax question is not relevant to the issues really before the people. It could be easily demonstrated—if there were present occasion to do so—that, whatever may be said for or against Henry George's doctrines, their practical application would shift the greater part of the farmers' tax burden from the farmers to those who are better able to bear it. No one can assert to the contrary, except in ignorance or dishonesty. We conceive that a mixture of both inspires the utterances of the Journal and the country republican press upon this subject.

We are not at all alarmed about this new crusade that has been inaugurated by the republican managers. In fact, it is encouraging to the democrats, because it shows to what desperate straits their adversaries are reduced for campaign ammunition. They have run away from the tariff question, from the discussion of state finances, and from almost every other issue of present practical politics. Their cowardice is only equalled by their dishonesty. Their campaign, like that of 1888, is nothing but a systematic appeal to popular ignorance and prejudice. It proceeds upon the theory that the average citizen is an idiot. It will certainly not succeed, if the democrats do not fall victims to overconfidence. It is only necessary for the democrats throughout the state to "bustle," as their adversaries are doing, and take the necessary steps to circumvent the republican schemes of bribery and fraud, to redeem Indiana on November 4 by a glorious majority. As Mr. Lucin said: "You can fool some of the people all the time, and all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time."

HAVEN'T WE THE SAME SYSTEM?

New York World.

The poverty which dooms these honest folk to live in squalor and to satisfy hunger on potatoes and salt three times a day for 35 days in the year is not the poverty of an unthrifty few but the poverty of a whole people, having its root in a historic wrong and its nourishment in continued oppression. These poor are not the "failures" but the people. Their wretchedness is wrought upon them by centuries of injustice, a fact which should not be forgotten in reading of their condition.

Its primary cause lies in the fact that two centuries ago and more two-thirds of all the land in Ireland was taken away from its owners by the decrees of a foreign power and given to an alien race of proprietors. A system was fastened upon the people, and is still fastened upon them, under which the land is made to support two sets of proprietors, the one poor and toiling, the other luxurious, wasteful and idle.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES AT COOPER UNION, NEW YORK, SEPT. 3, 1890.

We assert as our fundamental principle the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

We hold that all men are equally entitled to the use and enjoyment of what God has created and of what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attach to land should be taken for the use of the community.

We hold that each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

To carry out these principles we are in favor of raising all public revenues for national, state, county and municipal purposes by a single tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax we propose is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax act on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded, and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc., to be determined by impartial periodical assessments. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues, not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.

3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share, through free exchanges, in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave everyone free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for specu-

lators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

With respect to monopolies other than the monopoly of land, we hold that where free competition becomes impossible, as in telegraphs, railroads, water and gas supplies, etc., such business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned, through their proper government, local, state or national, as may be.

MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENTS.

THEIR COST SHOULD BE ASSESSED ON LAND—A DEMAND FOR A PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF SINGLE TAX PRINCIPLES.

QUINCY, Ill., Sept. 24.—The committee appointed by the Gem City single tax club met the special committee on new city water works, Mayor George H. Walker, chairman, and presented an argument concerning the method of levying the tax for the \$750,000 required to establish a system of city water works. Two members of the water works committee were unable to be present, but Mayor Walker assured the single tax committee that his committee would give the statement careful consideration before framing the ordinance. Something like a dozen prominent and influential citizens were present by invitation of the single tax club, and these, like Mayor Walker, listened to the reading of the argument with close attention. Among those present were four members of the city council. After the reading the visiting committee invited questions or criticisms, which led to about half an hour's informal discussion that brought out all the salient points. The address, which was read by Mr. C. F. Perry was as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Water Works Committee—Gentlemen: The most appropriate way of expressing our thanks for your kindness in listening to our views regarding the method of levying for the tax under Article IX, to establish a system of city water works, is to present those views as briefly and plainly as possible.

We believe the tax should be levied according to the value of the land benefited; not taxing any buildings or other improvements; but including, of course, in the valuation all rights of way or of occupancy franchises, which are all land values.

To make our idea—which is by no means a new one—plain: We would like to see you draft such an ordinance as would of itself direct and require the commissioners to make a correct assessment of the real value of the different pieces of land and land franchises in the city which will be benefited by the water works, but not valuing any building or other improvements, and then apportion the whole cost of the water works in proportion to the value of each lot, tract of land, or corporation franchise, excluding buildings and all other improvements in all cases.

If you could not for legal reasons draft an ordinance which would direct the commissioners to do this then we advocate such an ordinance as would allow the commissioners to levy the tax in that way. This would certainly be possible.

To illustrate the way the tax so laid would fall: A corporation franchise worth \$50,000 would be taxed just fifty times as much as a lot worth \$1,000; a lot worth \$20,000 would pay one hundred times as much as a lot worth \$200. Neither buildings, other improvements nor personal property would be taxed at all. Nothing would be taxed but the bare land, which, as stated, includes all such franchise values as of the railroad, street railway, light, telegraph and telephone companies.

Having tried to explain clearly what we advocate we will now state as plainly and as briefly as possible in such a matter some of our reasons for advocating this method.

The theory which underlies any and all taxation is the theory of benefits. Benefits to property, or to persons, or both. And in general taxation, the mode universally adopted as the mode of estimating the benefits and distributing the burden has been in proportion to the value of the property taxed. We do not tax horses by the head, or diamonds by the dozen, or land by the front foot; we tax all these classes of property according to value; according to their respective abilities to pay the tax; assuming this to be the most equitable method of ascertaining benefits and laying the burden. Thus, under general taxation, any class of property worth \$10,000 is supposed to pay ten times the tax of property worth but \$1,000, etc.

But the makers of the constitution of 1870 saw a great light. They saw that while local improvements are beneficial to all citizens of that locality, increasing the facilities

for business and the comfort and health for residence, that in some way these improvements benefit certain property, with the result that the owners of this property, either as users of the property or in recompense from those to whom they let the property, reap the benefits from the improvements. The makers of this article IX did not state what class of property this is; nor did they point out the character of these benefits; nor did they decide as to the mode of fixing the benefits and distributing the burden. These three points are left entirely to the wisdom of the corporate authorities of cities, towns and villages.

Now it is almost unnecessary to state that local improvements do not and cannot add to the value of personal property, that is, store stocks, factory products, etc. Such property can be sold for no more after any improvement than before, more likely for a less price. The value of such property is not fixed by the supply and demand in one locality, but in all localities; it is open to all outside competition. Indeed, so clear is this that we are not aware of any attempt anywhere to tax personal property under article IX.

It may be said, however, that while improvements do not increase the price of commodities, that, by improving the facilities for making and selling commodities, this increases the volume of trade, and hence the profits. This is often true; but as we shall show later on, these dealers are compelled to pay out these increased profits in increased land rent for business sites.

Turning now to buildings and other fixed improvements, we find that what is true of personal property is also true of this class of property, all of which, indeed, was at one time personal property in form. The value of any building in a city in nowise depends on local improvements; its value depends on the cost of duplicating the building as it stands. But this cost of building is not fixed by supply and demand in one locality, but in all localities; there is competition with the whole outside world. Furthermore, as time passes, buildings, like other products of human labor, decay and grow less and less valuable, despite all improvements.

When we first began improving here under Article IX, the attempt was made to tax buildings; but the injustice was so plain that it was quickly abandoned. Unfortunately, however, in abandoning the valuation of buildings they abandoned the whole valuation idea, instead of adopting the method of valuation of the land only.

But this may be said: While local improvements do not increase the price of the buildings, and cannot prevent their gradual decay, do not these improvements add to the comfort or health of the occupants of the buildings? Of course. The water works, for instance, would make it desirable to have pipes, bath tubs, etc., in hundreds of houses which now have none. But while if there were no more capital invested thus in the house proper, the buildings would be worth no more because of the water works; yet, whether any extra capital were invested in the house or not; whether there were any building at all on the lot; the location, the land having then access to water works, would be increased in value. If there were a house occupied by the owner of it and the land, the benefit of access to water would come to him in convenience and health as occupant. If a tenant occupied the house he, too, would receive the same benefits, but he as tenant would pay for these benefits in the increase in his rent; not house rent, but lot rent. The house rent would not increase unless more capital were invested in the house part.

Finding that neither of the other two classes of property is benefited by local improvements, let us turn to the land. The striking difference between land and all other property is that the land is not made by man; it is not a product of human labor. Hence the amount of land can neither be increased nor diminished by man. Land cannot be brought into Quincy; none can be carried away. It is a local monopoly which must be used in this city. There is no outside competition as in case of labor products.

Bearing this in mind, note the effect of, say building this magnificent system of city water works. It would be a great improvement for Quincy, especially if, as we hope, it will make free water for domestic use. This improvement would make Quincy a much more desirable place to reside in, to labor in, and to do business in. Those here would want to stay; other persons to come here. The inevitable effect would be an increased competition for Quincy land. Land being worth more, would rent for more and sell for more. Those owning land which they occupied themselves would receive the benefits from the water works as laborers, residents and business men. On land they rented out the owners would receive the benefits from the increased rent or selling price (which is the rent capitalized) of the land. Laborers, business men and residents who rented land would pay for their benefits from the water works in the increase in the rent of their land.

No sure as the water works would be an improvement so sure, save some disaster should befall the city, this effect would follow, not increased rent for one year only, but annually thereafter.

Thus we see the land is not merely benefited by the improvement, but that the land

is the only property that is benefited; hence, the land alone should pay for all the improvements. Then, as we have seen, the land owners recoup themselves in the increased value of the land.

Having decided upon the class of property to be benefited by the proposed water works then the spirit and intent of this law is quite plain. This is to make each piece of land pay just the amount that the property would be increased in value by the water works as a whole.

Now, what this committee and the council are to determine is, what is the best method of ascertaining these several benefits?

Let us briefly examine the method practiced here in street paving—the front foot standard. The cost of paving in front of any land being about the same, it was assumed that this cost equals the benefits to each piece of land. Were all pieces of land in the same location with reference to the center of population and business, this method would be correct, and in a single block, or a few blocks in the heart of the city, there has been comparatively little complaint.

The reason is clear; the value of this land is very high in comparison with the cost of the improvement. But as it is desired to extend the paving out from this center, while the cost of the paving will remain about the same, the value of the land decreases in a regular ratio; soon a point will be reached where it will take the entire value of the land to pay for the paving. Will the benefits then be equal to the tax? Or, as some suggest, shall we stop paving till this land "grows in value?" How can a method which forces confiscation of property on the one hand, or stops public improvements on the other, be a just method? It is not, and nearly everybody knows it. The theory assumes that the same improvement will increase the value of all land to the same amount. This is absurd. Were it true, the different pieces of land in Quincy would all be now of the same value. Yet in spite of all the improvement since Quincy was a wilderness, we see the different pieces of land presenting differences in value. These differences arise from the difference in location with reference to the center of business and population. The reason a lot in the heart of the city is worth \$30,000 and a lot of the same frontage in the suburbs but \$1,000, is because the same application of labor and capital on the former will produce thirty times as much wealth as it will on the latter. Now, how can the laying of the same pavement before these two lots or giving both access to city water works change the relative value of these lots? Yet, allowing each frontage to be 100 feet, and the water works tax to be \$1 per front foot, we must believe the water works would increase the value of the low-priced lot ten per cent, while it would increase the value of the high-priced lot—in the heart of the city—only a little over three-tenths of one per cent, a difference in favor of the suburban lot of more than nine and one-half per cent in benefits. Is this reasonable? Does it accord with common experience?

Only two points can be urged in favor of this front foot standard. One is that while the improvement is confined to a center, where the land is of very high value and of something like equal value, the inequalities are not so numerous and may be "patched up." But it is evident the water works improvement must extend over a wide space and include land of various grades of value—some high, some low.

The other point is that the front foot method is the easiest method of levying the tax. But we have too much confidence in this committee to think it will accept any method simply because it requires little thought or labor. We believe you are trying to ascertain the most just, the most equitable standard in levying this tax, regardless of labor involved.

We believe the correct method, the most equitable method, would be to apportion the cost at a uniform per cent on and in proportion to the value of each piece of land or land franchise to be benefited, which would include nearly all the land in the city.

The cost is estimated at three-quarters of a million dollars. But to estimate the per cent we should know the real value of the land. It is quite likely, however, a correct assessment by the commissioners would show the land alone in Quincy to be worth about twenty millions of dollars. If so, the tax would be about four per cent.

Assuming this rate to illustrate with, then our \$30,000 lot would pay \$1,200, instead of \$100 under the frontage plan; the \$1,000 lot would pay \$40, instead of \$100. A corporation franchise worth \$50,000 would pay \$2,000; a lot worth \$300 would be taxed \$12, etc.

In other words, this method assumes that the land will be benefited not all to the same amount, but in the same proportion; and the tax is levied accordingly. Does not this seem to you far more reasonable? Does not this method appear far more equitable than the other arbitrary mode?

In advocating this standard of taxation, this method of equalizing the tax according to benefits by a percentage on the value, we are advocating nothing new. It is the standard which has been used in local taxation ever since the dawn of civilization in all countries.

As to whether this kind of ordinance desired most could be legally adopted under

article IX without amendment, this is a point on which you will be advised by your own able counsel, we merely observing that should it happen that additional legislation be necessary, the same might be obtained in time. We believe, however, the law as at present is sufficiently broad, and simply as a suggestion which may induce you to have your counsel investigate that phase, we present parts of a few decisions of the supreme court of this state made in construing article IX and defining the powers of municipal authorities in adopting a standard for levying the tax. We merely present such part of each decision as bears directly on the point in question. These are as follows:

When the cost of a local improvement is to be raised in whole or in part by special taxation in the ordinance itself must either state the sum or give the data by which the commissioners can fix the amount to be thus raised, and when so fixed or ascertained in conformity with the ordinance it is conclusive on the property owners. In such case the municipal authorities, by ordinance, practically fix and determine in advance the amount the property specially benefited is to pay, and the amount when thus fixed is not open to review. This being done all the commissioners have to do is to assess the property benefited as to raise the required sum. This assessment must be made according to the scheme which has been adopted. Sometimes it is done on the frontage principle; in other cases the value of the property is made the basis of the apportionment or assessment. It is lawful to adopt either of these modes.—[Supreme court of Illinois, decision of 1886, case of City of Sterling vs. Galt, 117 Ill., 17.

The notion seems to be advanced by counsel that special taxation implies the idea of special benefit, and that there can be no special taxation of property unless, and according as it may be specially benefited.

There is no countenance for this. The power of special taxation is given unqualifiedly with no restrictions whatever as to the benefiting contiguous property. The supposition that contiguous property would be benefited by a local improvement may have operated with those who granted the power of special taxation of such property, in the granting of the power, but they left the exercise of the power without conditions in this respect. Instead, then, as they might, of imposing the whole cost of this improvement upon contiguous property, the city council imposed upon it but one-half of the cost, and there was no requirement that be forehand, or at any other time, there should have been express determination that the property would be benefited to that extent, or at all. Having determined to raise only one-half the cost of the improvement by special taxation of contiguous property, it was open to the city council to adopt which one of the various modes of special taxation of the property they saw fit—whether according to frontage of the property, value, benefits received, or otherwise. They resorted to the one of benefits received from the improvement, which would seem to be a most just and equitable mode.—[Supreme court of Illinois decision of 1885, case of the City of Galesburg vs. Searles et al., 114 Ill., 219-20.

The constitution and the section of the statute are silent on the point as to the manner of the assessment—whether it shall be in proportion of the frontage of the lot or otherwise. But power is conferred on the city to make the assessment, and it is a matter within the discretion of the corporate authorities to determine for themselves, and any mode they may adopt to carry out the power conferred will be sustained, so long as they do not violate the constitution or the statute.—[Supreme court of Illinois decision of 1885, case of Enos et al. vs. the City of Galesburg, 113 Ill., 73.

The following opinion of Judge Cooley, who is probably the most eminent living authority on taxation, is also in point. This statement is made while treating of the subject of special assessments in a general way: "Assessment by value of lots: This has sometimes been ordered in levee cases, and also in the case of street improvement. In the latter case the buildings erected upon the lands are sometimes excluded from the valuation, and very justly so, as the improvements, while increasing largely the market value of land as such, do not usually increase perceptibly the value of the building erected upon it."

"Personal property is not commonly thus assessed. The reason is manifest in the fact that special benefits accrue almost exclusively to lands."—[Cooley on Taxation, pages 456-7.

And this, showing the scope allowed and to be considered as one improvement, will be of interest, in view of what we have said about the water works as a whole:

The ordinance is also assailed on the ground that it embraces more than one improvement. We do not think this is true in point of fact. While many streets and parts of streets are embraced in the scheme of improvement adopted by the city, yet we regard them all as but parts of the same improvement.—[Supreme court of Illinois, decision of 1887, case of the City of Springfield vs. Green et al., 120 Ill., 275.

You will observe that Cooley says the method of taxing the land only and according to its value has been practised. He does not mean, nor do we wish you to understand, that this

has ever been done, so far as we know, in any city in Illinois as yet. The adoption was in other states. No city in this state has as yet adopted this just method of levying taxes under Article IX, which is one of our best laws if so applied. Everywhere there is the same inequality, the same injustice. In a few places rapid advances in land values, due to other causes, enable more rapid extension of improvements than here, but in most all there is the same halting progress for fear of doing gross injustice. Would it not be a great advantage to our beautiful city to establish a precedent for proceeding under this law with equity? Would not this of itself encourage those suffering or liable to suffer injustice elsewhere to come to Quincy, thus increasing our population and wealth?

It is understood that neither the whole nor any portion of this improvement can be paid for by general taxation; and it is fortunate that it cannot. For, while a tax on buildings would, in case of renters, be added to their building rent, the buildings, as we have shown, would not be worth any more for use because of the improvement; all the increase in advantages attaching to the land. And while a tax on personal property, such as factory products, store stocks, etc., would in the end fall on consumers in increased purchase price, these commodities, as we have shown, would not be worth any more for use because of the improvement. Further, could the tax be laid on buildings or personal property it would to that extent discourage thrift and enterprise, which is really to the best interest of the city to encourage. The more buildings erected, the more commodities produced in Quincy, the better. Thus, were general taxation legally possible for this improvement, it would be both unjust and injurious to adopt it.

Referring again to the front foot standard under Article IX, another serious objection to this is that it, too, tends to discourage enterprise. It is true the tax is laid on land regardless of improvements; but in taxing the land according to area and without regard to its value, makes it as burdensome for citizens to hold land of little value as land of great value. This is particularly clear in the case of corner lots. Thus the tax really becomes a tax on labor and capital, a tax on production; an effect manifestly contrary to the spirit and intent of this law.

Again, this taxing land regardless of value encourages directly and indirectly the holding of valuable land in idleness for speculation, and adds in these temporary, artificial "land booms," which as you know, are very injurious to the healthy progress of any city. But in addition to the justice of levying the tax according to the value of the naked land and franchises thereof, one of many good effects would be to discourage the holding of land in idleness, and to encourage productive enterprises in our city. The tax would not fall upon labor, nor upon capital, nor yet upon land; it would fall upon land values—upon ground rents.

It is well known that in this as in most other cities at present there are land values, especially corporation franchise values, which do not contribute anything like their equitable share either in maintaining government or making public improvements, yet reaping the benefit of both. But if you levy this tax according to the value of land, these interests would pay their just proportion for one improvement at least.

In presenting these views we have avoided anything like sentiment; have tried to excite no prejudice; have made no appeal in behalf of any class of citizens; we have simply presented the method from the standpoint of equal and exact justice, realizing that in justice is found the highest expediency.

In closing, a few words regarding the position of our committee may prevent some misapprehension. The committee proper are, as you are aware, from and members of Gem City single tax club. But there are gentlemen who accompany us in presenting these views who are not members of the club, and who indeed do not understand the single tax idea, which is to abolish all other taxation and maintain all local, state and national governments by a single tax on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

Thus you see at once the difference between that great idea which our club is proud to advocate and the method we are advocating here. We are merely urging a correct mode of applying a law of our state—a law passed seven years before "Progress and Poverty" was published. And if the method we present here be reasonable, if it appears to you just and equitable, if it seems to you in natural harmony with the spirit and intent of the law, then we do not believe you would reject it solely because it was specially advocated just now by citizens who also advocate ideas concerning which you might not be prepared now to express an opinion.

Simply repeating that the standard we are advocating—that of value—is not new, but very old, and thanking you again for the hearing, we leave the matter in your hands. C. F. Perry, R. F. Schermerhorn, James H. Ringgold, Grant M. Curtis, F. V. Curran, W. E. Odell, committee from Gem City Single Tax club.

DRIVEN OUT BY DROUGHT.

A STORY OF HARD WORK ENDING IN FAILURE—WOMEN WEEPING AT THE SIGHT OF GREEN GRASS.

The following story is taken from the Bos-

ton Daily Record. To those who claim that the west is still free for the landless it shows what kind of land is now left:

Five years ago J. H. Thorpe, a prosperous and contented citizen of the town of Holliston, Mass., sold his farm, bid good by to friends and neighbors and moved west, settling on the prairies of South Dakota. After five successive encounters with the consuming drought he returned to Massachusetts. On the morning after his arrival he met a Record reporter, to whom he told his tale.

"It was four years ago last spring that I sold out and left for the west. My boys had the western fever, and after considering over it and thinking for some time we decided to go. After we had taken up our land in Edmunds county, which is in the northern part of the state, one of my sons returned east, but the other, with myself and my wife, carried on the place. Our tract comprised 320 acres. I put up nice buildings, that is, nice for that country. My house had eight rooms, whereas the majority had only one.

"The first year we tried to raise wheat and flax, but we did not get a bushel.

"The second year we got a little more, about one-third of a full crop. I was keeping 200 head of cattle, it being my intention to devote myself more particularly to grazing rather than to agriculture.

"Next season we harvested about half a crop, but the fourth failed utterly. That was last year, when nineteen counties fairly dried up in the heat. This summer a tract comprising five counties, which included ours, suffered from the drought. Not a drop of rain has fallen since January.

"The soil is rich, worth twice that in this state, but the lack of moisture is fatal to its fertility. We did our best, but it was no good, and this spring we concluded that we had had enough of it. I sold the cattle, and for some of my finest blooded cows I received \$10 and \$5 apiece. There is no money in that country, but township, schoolship and county warrants serve the purpose of a circulating medium. They are subject to a discount of from five to twenty-five per cent, but everybody, even the school teachers, are paid in them.

"The territory is in a bad condition. Everyone who can is moving away, and those who cannot wish they could. In Ipswich, the county town, there are thirty abandoned stores. My son has ridden for three days and seen little of anything except deserted sod farm houses, the timber of which had been taken and the walls of which had fallen in. I could count a dozen of these from my own windows. The Vermont colony on the C. M. & St. P. road is all played out, and in the New England colony near Bismarck, of which so much was expected, there are not five families left out of thirty. Even the Russian settlers have had enough of it and are going to try and get to Manitoba. And you can bet that if they cannot live in a place nobody can.

"Everything is mortgaged, houses, land, farming tools, cattle and even the crops, sometimes indeed before they are grown.

"Well, four car loads of us purchased our things, disposed of our real estate and started home. Some of the women cried for joy when we reached Minnesota and saw the first green trees and the first green grass that had met their eyes for years."

A MONTANA ASSESSMENT.

THE CITY OF HELENA IS STIRRED UP BY AN APPLICATION OF THE SINGLE TAX IDEA TO THE ASSESSMENT FOR 1890.

In the Helena Journal of September 17 a long and interesting article is published on the assessment for the current year, in which it seems that the assessors have raised the valuation of unimproved land far above that of previous years. The matter is making a great stir out there and the drift of opinion is in favor of the assessors.

The article on the assessment is substantially as follows:

Those who believe the assessment is just and in proportion to the real value are those men who have improved a great portion of their realty by substantial and creditable buildings; those on the other side of the proposition are those whose possessions consist in the main of "idle" property, i. e., land within the city limits upon which nothing in the way of buildings has been done. In the dissatisfied class are found the proprietors of unsettled additions, which have been added to the municipal domain within the past twelve or twenty-four months.

The root of the entire matter is in the fact that heretofore it has been the practice to assess all property not strictly in the business center at "acreage" rates; and it is asserted that this valuation of acre property, as shown by the assessment, was either the government price of \$2.50 or but little more. As a matter of course this has been an injustice to the progressive people who have improved their property by homes or business blocks.

The Journal has obtained several interviews upon this matter, which show a divided sentiment, as defined above.

W. A. Chessman said: "The assessment is out of proportion to former years. It is a commentary upon the ability of former assessors when the present official in a period of twelve months finds an increased valuation of fully one hundred per cent. On outside

or 'addition' property the assessment is particularly onerous. Lots in these additions are sold for more than their real value, because in not one case in fifty does the buyer pay cash.

"By some means the law was left by the last territorial legislature in such a shape that assessors are enabled to make \$250 for every million increase in the assessment; before that the law denied the assessor more than \$3,000 per year. In this fact may, perhaps, be found a reason for the large increase. Our assessment now is according to the single tax idea—all on land."

C. W. Cannon, one of the heaviest, if not the heaviest, owner of Helena realty, is affected by the valuation of the assessor. He thinks the assessment is nothing less than an outrage. "This is not the way valuations are estimated in other places, and seems ridiculous to men who have large holdings in other places. My property is increased from about \$100,000 last year to \$300,000 this year, by the assessment. The fact is the property is not worth ten per cent more than a year ago, and the assessment must seem unjust to anyone who looks at the advance in its proper light."

A prominent banker and heavy realty owner in Helena said: "I do not care to have you quote me, but I have a very positive opinion on this subject. I do not think the assessment is a farthing too high. My own assessment is double that of last year, and I have no more property. But I believe this year's assessment is about right. Heretofore improved property has paid the burden of taxes. Men with \$200,000 to \$700,000 worth of property have 'sat' on it, year after year, and refused to sell it, refused to improve it and refused to pay a reasonable taxation upon it. That is the 'property history' of Helena, and I for one am ready for a change. I want the taxation as high as it is, and as high as it can be in justice made. When men refuse to improve their holdings year after year, then by taxation we can make them let go to people who are willing and ready to buy it and enhance its value by permanent and substantial improvements. If the large holders of real estate had done as much in proportion for Helena as the small owners have done we would have a much better city than we have."

"There is a poor man's side to this assessment question," remarked a carpenter, who owns his own home. "If I buy a lot in a vacant block for \$1,000 and improve it I am assessed \$500 on that lot. Is there any reason why the vacant lots around me in the same block should be assessed at \$20 each? That is what has been done in Helena for years, and to a certain extent repeated this year. In that way the burden of taxation is upon the poor man, while the rich man with a hundred vacant lots pays proportionately less than one-tenth as much tax as I do."

Sam Lingham says that the assessors are making a move in the right direction; that these men who have been holding lots at fabulous figures for speculative purposes and turning them in to the assessor at government-acre price would now be compelled to pay their share of the city's improvements.

At the board of trade meeting B. Brown, W. E. Cox and C. W. Cannon were appointed a committee to investigate the assessment matter, and to appear before the county commissioners and city council with a petition for such modifications as the committee thought just.

The matter is just beginning to attract attention, and many citizens will take part in the discussion before the final adjudication.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

THERE ARE IN AMERICA WOMEN AND CHILDREN DYING WITH HUNGER—WITH HUNGER MADE BY THE LAWS—WORK WITH US AND WE WILL NOT REST TILL WE HAVE REPEALED THOSE LAWS.

There are already in many of our states laws which remain unenforced because public attention has not been directed to them and to the consequence attending their violation. Many of these dead letter laws are directly in our line—for instance, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and other states the law requires assessors to assess property at its actual selling value; but no attempt is made in practice to conform to this. Not only would a literal compliance with these laws do away with the glaring inequality that everywhere exists between the assessed valuations of the homes of the poor and the rich, but it would also strike a telling blow at more than one of our monstrous monopolies. It is the almost invariable rule of our assessors to estimate properties valued under \$3,000 at from seventy to one hundred per cent while properties ranging upward from \$10,000 are assessed at from fifty per cent down to an extremely small fraction of their value. Much as this increases the burden of those least able to bear it, it is a minor evil compared with others directly due to this disregard of the law by those sworn to enforce it. Ex-President Corbin of the Reading railroad claims that labor troubles in the coal regions are entirely due to there being four times as many miners as there is employment for them. He has never denied that the high price of coal is due to an agreement between those representing the half dozen coal companies controlling the anthracite districts. Nor probably would he attempt to deny, either, that this trust-enhanced price of coal has driven

out of operation industries employing thousands of men, or that to the same cause is due the loss of thousands of lives. Not only are the coal lands of these companies assessed at an infinitesimal fraction of their selling value while held out of use, but they profit equally by the fact that lands containing coal now owned by individuals is kept out of market by the same cause. So long as coal lands for which the owners refuse \$3,000 per acre can, through the stupidity or willful violation of the law by the assessors, be assessed for taxation as wild land at \$3 per acre, they have every inducement to continue keeping them out of use, even though they may see that this course injures every industry and every individual in the state. Nor should we confine our efforts to the enforcement of good laws. Our laws for the taxation of personal property, if the attempt were made to rigidly enforce them, would arouse an outbreak of indignation that would wipe them from our statute books within a year. We should strenuously insist on the enforcement or repeal of these laws. It would be indeed difficult to overestimate the advantages which would result from an active, persistent bombardment of editors, assessors and legislators everywhere on these lines. It is on this account that I ask you to send me the names of your local assessors, their addresses, a synopsis of your tax laws and notable violations that you have personal knowledge of. While democratic papers are mainly friendly to free trade, republican papers of wide circulation and influence can best be approached by directing their attention to the advantages resulting from the repeal of laws taxing personal property, and the enforcement of those requiring assessments to be made at the actual selling values.

This week we will continue to make targets of those papers which the conference wike up. See THE STANDARD, September 17.

Truth, Buffalo, N. Y.—Thinks that henceforth the great parties must reckon with us. *Republican*, Springfield, Mass.—Thinks we are "undiscriminating," and that our views have changed. Also says the single tax men had no part in forcing ballot reform on Governor Hill, and that the New York law is not the Australian system.

Index-Appal, Petersburg, Va.—Considers absolute free trade impossible; the single tax an ideal system, but too radical.

Landmark, Norfolk, Va.—Quotes the New York Times editorial approvingly.

Journal, Peoria, Ill.—Vigorously denounces existing abuses, assails abuses in personal property taxation, but is uncertain whether single taxers are anarchists or socialists.

Post, San Francisco, Cal.—Concedes Mr. George's ability, but considers him muddled on the single tax.

Bulletin, Philadelphia, Pa.—Needs to be told that it is the rental value of the land we would tax.

Chronicle, Halifax, N. S.—Is fairly favorable but should be stirred up.

Hon. Benjamin Butlerworth, Washington, D. C.—In declining a re-nomination to congress, says we are entering on new conditions, which require patient and cautious legislation. That vast economic problems press for solution. And he denounces vigorously "the lash, caucus and a plunging party spirit," saying that they "are not the means by which great problems are solved." Now that he is free from party harness, he should be susceptible to our arguments.

Ignatius Donnelly, Nessinger, Minn.—Is recommended to the corps as a thorough and thoughtful student, as well as a vigorous writer and thinker.

Knute Nelson, Alexandria, Minn.—A leader among his Scandinavian countrymen already impressed with the benefits free trade would bring them. A congressman who defied the party lash and acted on his own convictions against the threats and persuasions of his republican associates. We can easily win him if we will but make the effort.

Dwight L. Moody, Northfield, Mass.—This celebrated revivalist need only be shown the justice of our movement to become a powerful advocate. Joining us is merely pledging yourself to write an average of one letter a week to one of the names suggested in this column and urging all your single tax friends to do the same. Letters may be merely a tract in an envelope, if you wish. Can't you spare five minutes to help us? Is not the work worth this sacrifice?

W. J. ATKINSON,
Box 271, Haddonfield, N. J.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
12 UNION SQUARE,
NEW YORK, Sept. 30, 1890.

The national committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and single tax men are urged to obtain petitions and solicit signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

It has also taken up the newspaper work of the Memphis committee, and is now en-

gaged in circularizing newspapers in every state, calling their attention to the widespread interest now shown in the subject of the single tax, and urging that they call on the press companies supplying their ready prints and plates for single tax matter.

The subscription list has been increased by an additional account transferred from the enrolment committee, amounting to \$3 35. Subscriptions previously acknowledged . . . 612 25

Total . . . \$615 60
Cash contributions for the week ending September 30 are from:

John B. Stevens, Merrill, Iowa . . .	\$1 00
Jas. S. Paton, Douglas, Kansas . . .	2 50
G. W. Thacher, Boston, Mass. . . .	10 00
Will M. Buell, Baird, Tex.	1 00
James R. Carret (add.), Boston, Mass. .	10 00
D. Stuart, Oakland, Cal.	2 00
A. R. Wynn, Toledo, Ohio	1 00
C. F. Knight (add.), Frankfort Springs, Pa.	90

Cash contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD . . . \$28 40
Total . . . \$512 57

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	89,843
Signatures received since last report	446

Total 90,289

For news budget see "Roll of States."

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB GETTING READY FOR THE COMING ELECTIONS.

Politics are beginning to boom. The members of the Manhattan single tax club are more than usually interested in the results of the coming election. In an official way, the club is an active part of the Tariff reform league, through which medium it is hoped that able men, and especially able advocates of tariff reform, will be sent to congress to represent this great city. Many of the members of the club are enrolled among the active members of the People's municipal league and are working in that league as only single tax men know how to work. Without vanity, it can be said that the members of the club are gladly welcomed in either league.

To-morrow evening the monthly meeting of the club will be held, when it is expected that important business bearing on the coming election will be brought up.

Mr. Benj. Doblin, chairman of the agitation committee of the club, announces that the fall and winter lectures and entertainments of the club will be inaugurated on Thursday, October 9, by what he terms "an hour or so of illusions and delusions." On October 16 will be celebrated the second anniversary of the organization of the club, in the form of a dinner. The tickets to the dinner will cost sixty cents each; and Mr. Doblin asks all desiring to attend to forward the price by October 9. The lady friends of the club are especially asked to attend on this occasion. They are welcome on all occasions. October 23 there will be a "book party." On the 30th Mr. Julien T. Davies, a well known republican of this city, will deliver a lecture on "The absolute liberation of personal property from taxation."

BROOKLYN.

AN ADDRESS FROM AN EX-MEMBER OF THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL—THE CART-TAIL CAMPAIGN OPENED—OTHER BROOKLYN NEWS.

W. F. Withers—Mr. R. Rowley, until recently one of the representatives for Camberwell in the London county council, spoke before the Brooklyn club Sunday, September 21, on the "Land Question in England."

His address was mainly devoted to a review of the various movements in England which are attacking the various phases of landlordism. While declining to commit himself to any particular one of the many schemes looking to the amelioration of the working classes now engaging the attention of Englishmen, he was nevertheless induced to assert that in his opinion the system of royalties there prevailing should be abolished, and that the money now going into private pockets for royalties should go into the public treasury.

The fall cart-tail campaign which we had hoped to inaugurate September 20, but which was unavoidably postponed, was started Saturday, September 27, and will be continued, weather permitting, every Saturday evening. Short, pointed but telling speeches were made by Messrs. O'Neill, Thompson, Baker, Boulton and Deverall. The audience, many of whom stayed until nearly 11 o'clock, were very attentive, and were unquestionably impressed by the many good points brought out by the speakers, several little groups on the outskirts discussing the relative merits of free trade or protection in a vigorous manner. One of the audience, in conversation with one of the speakers, afterward admitted that he was converted to the beauties of free trade, although he had regarded with derision the claim of the democratic party that the tariff should be repealed, "because," to use his own words, "if protection is a good thing, why, reduce it! While, if free trade is good, why I want complete freedom of exchange." It needed

but a few minutes' explanation of where the funds needed for governmental expenses could be obtained to make him a thorough convert. We shall undoubtedly hear from him soon.

Mr. H. G. Seaver, one of the active little band of single tax workers in Flatbush, was the speaker before the club Sunday evening, September 28.

He analyzed the "conference bill," pointed out its defects and injustices, and read extracts from the replies of the protected manufacturers to Secretary Manning's circular of 1885, asking for their ideas as to the revision of the tariff. He showed that in 1890 the McKinley bill goes far beyond what those very protectionists said was enough in 1885. It is in fact a "fat frying" operation, second edition. After Mr. Seaver had finished, President G. W. Thompson made a few remarks on the unchristian politics of our professedly Christian community. He was followed by Mr. James McGregor of Jersey City in a brief expose of the scheme of protection—its selfishness, its dishonesty, its inconsistencies and its effects on different classes of men.

Robert Baker.—The Brooklyn single tax club has arranged for a series of public lectures by well known public men at Avon hall, Bedford avenue and Fulton street. The first one will be held Sunday, October 5, the series being inaugurated by Henry George, who will be followed each Sunday evening up to December 20, by Father Huntington, Thos. G. Shearman, etc. The meetings will be free. Cards containing the entire list of speakers and dates can now be obtained at the club house, 198 Livingston street. It is the earnest wish of the lecture committee that every single tax man and woman in Brooklyn will each do their share toward making all of these meetings a grand success.

S. D. Guion.—I send you a few more signed petitions. The work goes bravely on, petitions are being signed, literature is being distributed; on the streets, in stores and shops the subject of the single tax is being discussed. More and more are the minds of the people being drawn to it, and more and more does it absorb the thoughts and engross the attention of the people. Most people realize that life is not only a battle, but a terribly unequal battle, and it is the duty and ought to be the pleasure of all who believe in the single tax to demonstrate to them, that it is because, and only because, of the maladjustment of our social system that it is so. The single tax is the remedy. The single tax will insure justice. Justice is the fundamental law of righteousness. Justice must be done to restore the expropriated millions to their rightful inheritance as well as the proletariat must thereafter earn his bread in the sweat of his face. Let it be our especial work to teach the doctrine of the single tax until justice is established and all have an equal opportunity to feast at the table that bounteous nature daily spreads for all her children alike.

Miss A. A. Chapman.—The four signatures mailed you last week make 25 in all that I have been able to secure since the 17th of August, without half trying. With this I mail you the first instalment of 8 on the next 25. The work grows in interest. I have had comparatively few refusals so far. On one short block on the Eighteenth ward side of Broadway, I secured five signatures, and left one man who had already signed, and left one blank for examination with the wife of a man who was out when I called.

NEW YORK STATE.

S. T. Fulton.—At a meeting of single tax men of this place on September 17, the Fulton single tax club was organized. Edw. C. Rogers was elected president and L. C. Foster secretary.

Harry D. Gawne, Rochester.—At our meeting of September 21, the following officers were duly elected for the next six months: President, W. Wallace; vice-president, R. Frank Smith; secretary, Albert Campbell; corresponding secretary, H. R. Congar; treasurer, S. Dis Roche. The new officers say they intend to make things hum the coming winter. I believe they will, for they are all able men, and well up in the single tax. Sunday we held our first afternoon meeting, which was well attended. Mr. Edwin Lane, sr., read a very interesting paper on national organization which pleased all present.

MASSACHUSETTS.

MEETINGS ON BOSTON COMMON—WORK OF THE QUESTION CLUB.

D. Webster Groh, Boston.—Our open air single tax meetings on Boston common, lasting from 3 to 8 p. m. uninterruptedly every Sunday, still continue to attract large and appreciative audiences, and we do not propose to abandon them until driven to do so by inclemency of winter weather. That much good work is being done for the cause is attested both by the hearty applause with which effective speeches are greeted and the large enrolment of names endorsing our petition, gathered from the audience.

The Boston Question club meetings in G. A. R. hall, 616 Washington street, at 10.30

a. m. every Sunday in the year, where we discuss tariff, wages, ballot reform, single tax, and other social and economic questions in alternating ten minute speeches, is the training school in which many of our single tax orators have prepared themselves for work in these outdoor meetings.

The Missouri plan of a "school house campaign," as described by H. Martin Williams at the national conference, is a worthy example for other single taxers to imitate. In the comparative privacy of a school house debate a little encouragement or coaxing will often induce young and timid single taxers, otherwise full of the fire and ardor of youth, to make their first attempt at public speaking, and thus help them to launch out on a career of inestimable value to the single tax and free trade cause.

PENNSYLVANIA.

"UNCLE TOM'S" OFFER AND SUGGESTION HOW TO HELP THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

"Uncle Tom," Box 56, Byrn Mawr.—Possessing two assignats of the first French republic—of five livres and fifty sols, respectively—and two bank notes of one florin each—of 1800 and 1811, respectively—both the latter issued by the city of Vienna, Austria, and being unable to contribute any cash, I propose to sell the above to the highest bidder—club or individual—he to send the money to the executive committee of the Single tax league of the United States, 12 Union square, New York. On being notified that the money has been received, I will mail the assignats and notes to the person or club designated, bids to be received by me up to, say, October 25 next. If anyone knows of a better plan, please inform me. The object is to raise the biggest possible amount of money for the national committee. Will sell singly or the lot together. As we are working to prevent a second edition of the first French revolution, some one ought at least to buy the assignats. The assignats at one time belonged to my great-grandfather, who, during the first French revolution, seems to have been on the wrong side of the fence, and during the confusion got excited and lost his head. The florin notes of Vienna belonged to my grandfather, who had been a soldier for thirteen years under Napoleon I. Although dear to me on account of family, I will part with them for the cause for which we are all working.

"Uncle Tom's" wife suggests that the single tax clubs, and others in sympathy with our cause, should hold fairs for the benefit of the national committee, each member and sympathizer to contribute something useful or fancy.

WEST VIRGINIA.

RESUMING THE SCHOOL HOUSE CAMPAIGN.

W. I. Borenman, Parkersburg.—I inclose you twenty-seven more signed petitions. We are getting ready for our fall campaign. The last school house meeting we held wasn't in a school house at all, but in an old log house that had been abandoned because the tenant farmer couldn't make the land pay the rent and pay him a living beside. We had been shut out of the school house by the republican school trustees, but not to be balked we shed our light and sowed the seed in that neighborhood by holding a meeting in that old log dwelling.

OHIO.

THE CINCINNATI CLUB RESUMING WORK.

Walter H. Beecher, Cincinnati.—At the last meeting of the Cincinnati single tax club, held at the rooms of D. A. 48, K. of L., Walter H. Beecher was elected secretary pro tem. in place of William C. Wulf resigned.

In view of the fact that the club has maintained only a nominal existence since it was obliged, for lack of funds, to vacate its former headquarters on Vine street, a committee of two was appointed to look for a new club room. It is probable that after our recent experiences we shall find it easier to insist strictly on the practice of "cutting according to our cloth" in items of expense.

A committee of three, consisting of Messrs. Ewan, Schraer and Benjamin, was appointed to send questions to candidates for the fall elections.

A difference of opinion as to the wisdom of our supporting the democratic candidate for congress from the First district made it seem desirable that the club should, in a formal manner, disclaim any responsibility for the communication which appeared in THE STANDARD of September 17 regarding Otway Cosgrove. No blame is imputed to Mr. Henderson in the matter, as it appears that it was simply through a mistake that his communication was printed as coming from the secretary of this club. He had resigned the office several months before, when called away from the city.

Motion was passed that members who are desirous of acting as delegates from this club in presenting the single tax cause to other organizations be invited to send in their names to the secretary, with a view to the formation of a committee, later on, which is to have charge of all correspondence and appointments pertaining to this work with outside societies.

A. R. Wynn, Toledo.—Hon. D. D. Donavan has been nominated by the democrats for congress in the Sixth Ohio district. Mr.

Donovan is a thorough free trader and plainly sees the "cat."

ILLINOIS.

THE CHICAGO MEN TO TAKE ACTION ON MUNICIPAL FRANCHISES—LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES TO BE QUESTIONED ON THE SUBJECT OF TAX REFORM—OTHER NEWS ITEMS.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, Sept. 26.—The city council is likely to take action at an early date on the subject of municipal franchises, hitherto the free offerings of the people to monopolists of every kind and degree. The matter has been persistently agitated for two or three years past and the present city administration was elected on a platform pledging the democratic party to stop the favoritism and profligacy that had reigned unchecked ever since the municipality had any special privileges to confer. Mayor Cregier took this pledge seriously, and in two or three instances at least he insisted on the insertion of conditions in ordinances granting charters to street and elevated railways that secure to the people some compensation for the valuable grants.

But the council itself, while it has been fairly compliant with the policy of the administration, has not until quite recently shown any definite purpose in the matter. It had continued to grant franchises gratuitously, but when the mayor had sent the ordinances back without his approval, recommending amendments providing for compensation to the city, the council had usually, if not invariably, accepted the executive suggestions. Two or three weeks ago, however, the council, after its summer recess, took the question of free franchises up on its own motion, Alderman Brockman bringing in a resolution requiring that all grants or special privilege shall be hereafter made, on due notice by advertisement, to the highest bidder. This resolution was referred to a committee which has just decided on a report that will reach the main object of Alderman Brockman's proposal without involving its details. The report is in the following form:

Resolved, That in the granting of franchises for the use of streets and alleys in the city of Chicago the council insist on an equitable compensation for all such privileges granted, and that from time to time a readjustment of such compensation be made, to the end that the city may receive its just share of profits derived from the granting of all such franchises.

Its adoption by the council is almost certain, and it is equally certain that the reform is not going to stop at this. The agitation will not cease until special privilege has been entirely abolished and equal rights in the public streets fully established under the municipalization of all essential monopolies. In this work our single tax men have been very active, and I believe their activity will continue till the entire system has been conformed to the principles for which we stand.

On Thursday evening Mr. J. E. Devanau spoke before our club on "Who are the discontented classes?" and he showed very clearly that others than laborers and artisans are included. He also showed that the discontent was due to the monopolization of the natural sources of production, and he concluded with an exposition of the remedy which the single tax offers for the monstrous wrongs of modern society. His address was followed by an animated discussion, in which Mr. James Malcolm, Mr. J. T. Ripley, Mr. J. M. Place and two or three strangers took part. On next Thursday evening the subject of municipal gas will be discussed, and on this occasion we expect to have present a number of prominent citizens not identified with the single tax movement.

On October 9 Mr. W. H. Van Ornum will speak, and October 16 the Hon. Allan C. Darbarow, democratic nominee for congress in the Third Illinois district, has promised to give us a talk on the tariff. Other prominent gentlemen will be invited to be present on this occasion.

A committee consisting of Messrs. Malcolm, Irwin, Ripley, Taylor and Moore was appointed Thursday evening to interrogate legislative candidates regarding tax reform. The committee will formulate a series of questions and submit them to the various aspirants for legislative honors.

C. W. Kellogg, Chicago.—I herewith inclose my first batch of subscriptions to the enrolment committee. Had I more blanks the list would be longer.

Ernest J. Foord, Chicago.—I inclose a few petitions—all signed after a considerable amount of single tax logic had been expended. I am happy to say, to good effect.

THE STANDARD is eagerly sought for by many here. A young man who had attended one of our meetings came again and brought his friend, and a day or two since inquired of me what day THE STANDARD came out. Guess I can get him "on the list."

J. M. Place, Chicago.—I inclose ten signatures to the petition, all mechanics. They have all seen the outlines of the cat.

MISSOURI.

THE ST. LOUIS MEN SATISFIED WITH THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE—PARTY PAPERS BOLTING CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS.

Ferry Peppoon, St. Louis.—The single tax

league's headquarters have been moved to 307½ Pine street, third floor, where meetings will be held hereafter every Tuesday night, and business meetings the first Monday of each month. The members should remember the next regular business meeting, Monday, October 6.

The league will do better work the coming winter than ever before. A lecture course is being prepared, the first two lectures of which will be delivered by Colonel T. J. Porres and Dr. Bervays, who are sure to attract good audiences. The lectures will not be given at the league's headquarters, but a good hall will be secured for them. The open-air meetings during the summer have been very successful, and now that the weather is too cool for outdoor work we shall proceed to push the fall and winter campaign.

The work of the national conference is generally satisfactory, and its great success gives us courage. H. Martin Williams, the national committeeman from Missouri, is peculiarly fitted for the place, having a thorough knowledge of the state and being an unceasing worker for the single tax.

In the Ninth congressional district there is a movement under way in favor of Hon. N. O. Nelson as an independent candidate for congress. The situation is such that he may be elected. The Globe-Democrat has bolted the republican nomination and the Post-Dispatch has in advance bolted the democratic nomination that has been fixed on by the bosses. If Mr. Nelson will consent to run he will combine a business men's and labor vote that will very likely be larger than that of either of the machine candidates. Mr. Nelson is a member of the single tax league.

In the Tenth district everything is satisfactory. The democrats have nominated Sam Byrns, a good free trader, and he is certain to defeat the republican incumbent, Mr. Kinsey. In the Eighth there are two democratic candidates, John J. O'Neill receiving the support of the single taxers, and he may be elected, as he will receive many anti-machine republican votes.

KANSAS.

PLEASED WITH THE PLATFORM—THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN ON.

J. G. Malcolm, Hutchinson.—I am much pleased with the single tax platform. It is a very clear statement of what we want, and will bear criticism better than any political platform ever before written. The last plank suits me exactly. THE STANDARD should have it printed in a tasty style and for sale to workers in our cause for distribution. I am sure we could not distribute anything that would do us more good.

George W. Hatch, Coffeyville.—The heat of the election campaign is on—a red heat. One thing I regret; it seems that anarchists are gaining influence among the alliance farmers, and it is on the increase. They say: "We'll shoot ballots, and if that don't win we'll shoot bullets." The fact is, there have never been any single tax speakers through southern Kansas (though heavily populated), and the people don't see any way out of the plutocratic clutches but by ballot or violence.

Now is the time for single tax speakers to put in their work against anarchical teachings.

The alliance, or people's party, is going to win, I believe, in the west. The heretofore secret meetings are now interspersed with public meetings, and excitement runs high. They are all poor from mortgages and oppression, but I believe collections could be taken up after speeches to pay expenses of single tax speakers; but ample time for public notice is required to gather in the farmers.

OREGON.

A REPUBLICAN PROTECTION PAPER SAYS THERE IS A "NATURAL" TENDENCY TOWARD THE SINGLE TAX AS THE ONLY CORRECT METHOD OF TAXATION.

S. T., Portland.—The Oregonian is undoubtedly the most influential newspaper in the Pacific northwest. As you are probably aware, it is republican in politics, and a bitter opponent of free trade; and it never misses an opportunity to denounce Henry George and the single tax—that is, when the single tax is coupled with the name of George or advocated by any of his adherents. Nevertheless, the heaven is working, here as elsewhere. Observe this editorial from the columns of the aforesaid Oregonian:

In all our older states it is found by experience that the effort to collect taxes from personal property is producing smaller and smaller proportionate results. Personal property in its most valuable forms finds easy concealment, and in its most apparent or obvious forms is of comparatively little or quite uncertain value. The tendency therefore is more and more to look to realty as the main subject of taxation. The New York Times says that assessments this year under the head of personal property were laid against only 24,000 in the city of New York, yet of this number 12,320 submitted affidavits that they were not liable for personal taxes under the law, and 10,140 of them succeeded in having their names erased from the tax rolls, leaving all the personal taxes in the city to be collected from 13,500 persons. "This means," says the Times, "that in the richest city of the country less than one per cent of the population is recognized under the law as rich enough above legal exemptions to be liable to a tax for

personal property. The tax lists for several years tell a similar story."

In Massachusetts there is similar experience, and similar results are presented. It is found that personal property hides itself away, and that dependence on it as a subject of taxation produces only unequal and unsatisfactory results. This is particularly the case with credits. Hence in our older states there is a growing disposition to abandon pursuit of credits for taxation, and to settle taxes on visible and tangible property. This is found more equitable and satisfactory to all. The attempt to tax personal property, including credits, always falls more heavily in proportion upon persons of moderate means than upon the rich. The latter can always succeed in concealing personal property of greatest value.

So far, then, there is a strong natural tendency toward the single tax on land. This tendency, undeniably, is strongest in oldest and richest communities. Probably it never will be realized in full; but the movement toward it shows that there is profound error in too much dependence on personal property as a subject for taxation. In a young state like ours, where landed values are not yet great, the tendency to pass over personal property is not so apparent, yet in time we are sure to discover that there can be no safe dependence on this description of property as a source of considerable revenue. There need be no law to exempt it from taxation. Most of it and all of it that is most valuable exempts itself. The thing that can be done is to adjust our tax system to conditions that experience is forcing upon us. In Oregon we are all the time making strenuous efforts to tax credits. We do not succeed, for it is notorious that not five per cent of the credits liable to taxation are found by the assessors. What we do bring about is serious injustice and general disturbance of business. Specific laws for taxation of credits, as our mortgage tax law, only make matters worse. They obstruct the course of business, add new difficulties and burdens to debtors, and keep outside capital from coming into the state.

NEW JERSEY.

Joseph Dana Miller, Jersey City.—On Thursday, October 2, the Standard single tax club of Jersey City will hold its third annual reunion at the assembly rooms, 643 Newark avenue. All single tax men and all those interested in the subject of social reform in Jersey City are invited. Several clergymen will be in attendance. There will be short speeches, singing, music, recitations and refreshments, and there will be no charge.

DELAWARE.

George W. Kreer, Wilmington.—The single tax heaven is working here. We are going to have a good club this winter and do some practical work.

FLORIDA.

H. Q. Simonton, Dade City.—I send you in six more of the petitions signed. That is one more than my share of the hundred thousand, if "Uncle Tom" is correct in his figures. One of the signers is one of my hard cases. I have tackled him every time I met him. Last Monday I met him at Dade City; he asked me if I had any of those blanks. I told him I always carried them with me; he asked for one; I gave it, and he signed it. So you see the heaven is working. Some of them begin to say there is more in that single tax theory than you think for. But I am having a good deal of fun out of it. The people here can and will learn, but it will take time.

INDIANA.

S. T., Indianapolis.—The friendly reference to the single tax in a recent issue of the Indianapolis Sentinel seems to have thrown the Indianapolis Journal into a frenzy. The republican organ begins an article in its issue of September 22, as follows:

Taking their cue from the Sentinel, a large number of orators will doubtless soon be abroad in the land, scattered over the state of Indiana, eloquently setting forth the resplendent glories of the single tax theory. They will rise up in the country school houses and tell the Hoosier farmers how much better it will be for all personal property to be dropped from the assessment lists, and let the entire burden of taxation necessary to carry on the state government and meet the interest on the enormous state debt be placed upon their fair acres. They will plead for this, inspired by the glaring periods of the Sentinel, in rhetoric that cannot fail to convince them that a single tax will be more ornamental than a red barn, and will adorn their premises until a sheriff's notice that their belongings are to be sold to pay the single tax is hung up on the smoke house door.

It then demonstrates that it has no conception of the single tax theory by trying to show that a law levying the burden of taxation on land values only would, somehow, fall more heavily on the less valuable land. The Journal also quotes from the Sentinel a letter from a republican single taxer commending its recent utterance, and it scornfully says:

If the writer had given his real name, we could tell about how much of a republican he

is. Meanwhile we remark that the signature is probably well chosen. "Rex" is Latin for king, and the writer is probably a money king, a railroad king, or some other kind of a king who has his wealth in personal property, and therefore favors the new democratic policy of abolishing the personal property tax and increasing that on real estate.

The assumption that single tax men are presumably millionaires is a new and interesting one.

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Is endorsed and prescribed by leading physicians because both the Cod Liver Oil and Hypophosphites are the recognized agents in the cure of Consumption. It is as palatable as milk.

Scott's Emulsion is a perfect emulsion. It is a wonderful Flesh Producer. It is the Best Remedy for CONSUMPTION, Scrofula, Bronchitis, Wasting Disease, Chronic Coughs and Colds. Ask for Scott's Emulsion and take no other.

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LOVELY AS A ROSE!

As we gaze upon a new-blown rose, we involuntarily exclaim, "How lovely!" Our admiration is excited by the color and delicate tints of the flower. So it is with

A Beautiful Maiden.

Her clear velvet-like skin and peach-bloom complexion fascinate us. These exquisite charms always result from the use of

GLENN'S SULPHUR SOAP.

A never-failing remedy for removing all imperfections from the skin and making the complexion

PEERLESSLY BEAUTIFUL.

FOR SALE BY ALL DRUGGISTS. BEWARE OF IMITATIONS.

Glenn's Soap will be sent by mail for 30 cts. for one cake, or 75 cts. for three cakes by C. N. CRITTENTON, Sole Proprietor, 115 Fulton Street, New York City.

THE AGE.

BOLDER, MONTANA.

Subscription price, \$2.00 per year.

The Age is a weekly newspaper largely devoted to the local interests of Jefferson county, but it advocates the political doctrine of the single tax, and is the only paper in Montana which does so. Subscribers to The Standard who would like to read The Age but cannot afford to subscribe can secure it by sending to The Standard in exchange for it to the editor of The Age.

UNDER THE WHEEL.

By Hamlin Garland

The Boston Globe: "The play is intensely realistic, full of pathos and comedy." The Omaha Herald: "The play is intensely realistic, full of pathos and comedy." The Boston Home Journal: "It is a plea against the slavery of labor." Mr. Garland does not typify fate at the wheel; he puts man there. The Chicago Tribune calls the author "the American Ibsen," and calls the play: "A flat, brave, real-life tragedy—one of the thousand that occur and the first to be put in dramatic form." Many other papers see its significance as a picture of the life of a common American. Price: twenty-five cents, postpaid; five or more to one address, twenty cents each.

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SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send any corrections in the list below, and all newly formed organizations are asked to report promptly, either to the Enrollment committee or The Standard.)

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Little Rock single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol F. Clark; sec., O. D. Hemming, 1910 Main st.

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, St. George's hall, 909 1/2 Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., 841 Market st. Pres., L. M. Manzer; sec., H. M. Welcome; fin. sec., John A. Maynard. Address of all officers, 841 Market st.

SACRAMENTO.—Single tax club of Sacramento. Every Friday evening, Dr. Reed's office, 6th and K sts. Pres., Dr. Thos. B. Reed; sec., C. W. Farnsworth, 1406 4th st.

OAKLAND.—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1056 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Haddins.

LOS ANGELES.—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., I. J. Harrell; sec., Clarence A. Miller.

SAN DIEGO.—Single tax question club meets every Sunday afternoon, 2 p.m., at Horton hall. County committee room, 444 5th st. Geo. B. Whaley, chairman.

BLACK DIAMOND.—Contra Costa county single tax committee. Jeff. A. Bailey, sec.

COLORADO.

STATE.—Colorado State single tax association, 303 16th st. Pres., A. W. Elder; sec., H. C. Niles; treas., Geo. Champion.

DENVER.—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, 303 16th st. Free reading room open every day, 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., H. C. Niles, 303 16th st.

PUEBLO.—Commonwealth single tax club. First and Fourth Thursdays at office of D. B. V. Reeve, Union av. Pres., D. B. V. Reeve; sec., J. W. Brentlinger, Pueblo Smelting and Refining Co.

GRAND JUNCTION.—Mesa county single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., James W. Bucklin; sec., Geo. Smith.

CANYON CITY.—Single tax committee; sec., Dr. Frank P. Blake.

CONNECTICUT.

DANBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., John E. Jones; sec., W. E. Grumman. Address for the present, Sam E. Main, 10 Montgomery st.

NEW HAVEN.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening. Pres., Willard D. Warren, room 11, 102 Orange st.; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day st.

MERIDEN.—Meriden single tax club. 3 p.m. every Sunday. Circle hall. Pres., Wm. Hawthorne; sec., Wm. Willis, P. O. box 1342.

SHARON.—Single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Washington single tax league; always open; regular meeting Friday evening, 609 F street, N. W. Pres., Paul T. Bowen; sec., Wm. Geddes, M. D., 1719 G st., N. W.

FLORIDA.

PENSACOLA.—Pensacola single tax club No. 1. Tuesday evenings, K. of L. hall, corner of Zaragoza and Palafox sts. Pres., J. Dennis Wolfe; sec., James McHugh.

TAMPA.—Thomas G. Shearman single tax league. First Monday in each month, business meeting; Sundays, public speaking. Pres., C. E. Ainsworth; sec., John H. McCormick.

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Beath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 12 W. Alabama st.

AUGUSTA.—Augusta single tax club. Every Friday evening, Hussar hall. Pres., Ed. Flury; sec. George Haines, care of Lofin & Meyer.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey; sec. F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 835.

SPRINGFIELD.—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph Farris; sec., James H. McCrea, 623 Black ave.

JACKSONVILLE.—Morgan county single tax club. Pres., Col. Wm. Camm of Murrayville; sec., Chas. W. Alexander of Jacksonville.

SPARTA.—Single tax committee. Sec., Wm. R. Bailey.

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Every Friday evening, Opera house building. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 327 S. 3d.

INDIANA.

STATE.—Indiana single tax league. Pres., Henry Rawie, Anderson; vice-pres., L. P. Custer, Indianapolis; sec., Thos. J. Hudson, 155 Elm st., Indianapolis. State executive committee, Henry Rawie, Anderson; S. W. Williams, Vincennes; L. O. Bishop, Clinton; Dr. C. A. Kersey, Richmond; Chas. G. Bennett, Evansville; Wm. Henry, Connersville; W. E. McDermut, Ft. Wayne; T. J. Hudson, J. F. White, L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.

CLINTON.—Single tax club. Sunday afternoons, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., Isaac H. Strain; sec., L. O. Bishop.

FORT WAYNE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McDermut; vice pres., J. M. Schwerzen; sec., Henry Cohen.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 8 p.m., Main st. hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., Dr. Brown; sec., L. P. Custer.

EVANSVILLE.—Single tax association. Pres., Edwin Walker; sec., Charles G. Bennett.

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Nichols, 913 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 312 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Mosena, 200 Hedge ave.

DES MOINES.—Single tax club. Pres., H. B. Allison, box 4; sec., J. Ballance.

COUNCIL BLUFFS.—Council Bluffs single tax club. Sunday and fourth Sunday of each month, 4:30 p.m.; 7th Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevens; sec., L. E. Kitchan, 224 W. 7th ave.

ALBANY.—Tax reform club. Every Thursday evening, Vest's hall. Pres., A. J. Morgan; sec., D. D. Murphy.

MARSHALLTOWN.—Single tax committee. Pres., James Hagg; sec., Hans Erickson.

MASON CITY.—Single tax committee; 1st and 3d evenings of each month at Dr. Osborne's office. Pres., J. A. Scranton; sec., J. B. Mott.

SIoux CITY.—Single tax committee, first and third Monday each month. Pres., Jas. A. Ford, 316 Nebraska st.; sec., H. H. Hoffman, Hotel Bodge.

KANSAS.

ABILENE.—Single tax club. Pres., C. W. Brooks; vice-pres., H. Charters; sec., A. L. Russel.

GROVE HILL.—Grove Hill single tax club. Thursday evenings, Grove Hill school house, Lincoln township, Dickinson county. Pres., E. Z. Butcher; sec., Andrew Reddick.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday night at 8 p.m. at Natchez st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 122 7th st.

LEWISTON.—Single tax committee. Every Wednesday evening, 79 Summer st. Chairman, F. D. Lyford; sec., Joseph Walsh, 79 Summer st.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday, at 8 p.m., in hall 506 E. Baltimore st. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 N. Carey st.; sec., John W. Jones, 29 N. Caroline st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 Baltimore st.

Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday evening, 8 p.m., at Industrial hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., J. G. Schonfarber; W. H. Kelly.

Single tax association of East Baltimore. Pres., J. M. Ralph; sec., Chas. H. Williams, 312 Myrtle av.

MASSACHUSETTS.

STATE.—Single tax state central committee of Massachusetts. Pres., Edwin M. White, 1498 Washington st., Boston; sec., G. K. Anderson, 30 Hanover st., Boston.

Boston.—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland, 12 Moreland st.; sec., Edwin M. White, 1498 Washington st.

Neponset single tax league. Sec., Q. A. Lathrop, Wood st. court, Neponset.

Dorchester single tax club. Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Rooms open every day from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Pres., Ed Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building.

Roxbury single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carrett, 7 Hotel Dunbar; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Ruggles st.

STONEHAM.—Stoneham single tax league. Pres., Dr. W. Symington Brown, Stoneham.

LYNN.—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libbey st., 331 Washington st.; sec., John McCarthy, 140 Tunson st.

WORCESTER.—Tenth district single tax league of Worcester. Meetings first Thursday of each month, class room, Y. M. C. A. building, 20 Pearl st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., Edwin K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

LAWRENCE.—Lawrence single tax club. Every Thursday evening, Col. J. P. Sweeney's office. Pres., Col. John P. Sweeney; sec., John J. Donovan, city clerk's office.

HYDE PARK.—Single tax club. Sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

MARLBORO.—Single tax club. Pres., G. A. E. Reynolds, 14 Franklin st.; sec., Chas. E. Hayes.

ORANGE.—Single tax league of Orange. First Wednesday of each month, pres. and secretary's residence. Pres., H. W. Hammond; sec., Charles G. Kidder.

NEWPORT.—Merrimac assembly. Saturday evenings, 48 State st. Pres., Dennis F. Murphy; sec., W. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimac st.

MALDEN.—Single tax club. Meetings fortnightly at Deliberative hall, Pleasant st. Pres., Geo. W. Cox, Glenwood st.; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

MICHIGAN.

ADRIAN.—Tax reform association. Sec., E. C. Knowles.

DETROIT.—Single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., John Bridge; sec., J. R. Burton, sec., room 13, Rutherford building.

STURGIS.—Sturgis club of investigation. Pres., Rufus Spalding; sec., Thomas Harding.

SAGINAW.—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Weggenier; sec., Jas. Duffy, 803 State st.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening at the West hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., J. A. Sawyer, 309 Lumber exchange.

South Minneapolis single tax club. Wednesday evenings, at 1809 E. Lake st. Pres., A. M. Goodrich; sec., P. F. Hamersley.

ST. PAUL.—Pres., H. C. McCartney; sec., Geo. C. Madison, 339 E. 7th st. Second and fourth Tuesdays at 41 W. 4th st.

MISSOURI.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax club. Tuesday evenings at 307 1/2 Pine st., third floor; business meetings first Monday of each month. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble street.

"Benton School of Social Science." Sunday, 4 p.m., 6539 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

LA DUE.—The Reform club of La Due. Pres., W. Stephens; sec., Jas. Wilson.

KANSAS CITY.—Kansas City single tax club. First Sunday of the month, at 3 p.m., at Bacon Lounge hall, 1204-6 Walnut st. Pres., Curtis E. Thomas; sec., Warren Wasson, 110 E. 15th st.

HEMMANN.—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Hasegruter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

HIGH GATE.—Single tax league. Meetings on alternate Thursdays at the house of W. M. Kinnend. Pres., Wm. Kinnend; sec., J. W. Swaw.

OAK HILL.—Single tax league. Pres., F. Debut; sec., J. W. Miller.

RED BIRD.—Single tax league. Pres., J. B. Camit; sec., J. K. Brown, Red Bird, Mo.

SAFE.—Glen single tax club. Meets second Saturday evening of the month. Pres., W. H. Miller; sec., H. A. Sander, Safe.

MONTANA.

STATE.—Montana single tax association. Pres., Will Kennedy, Boulder; vice-pres., J. M. Clements, Helena; sec., Wm. McKendrick,

Marysville; treas., C. A. Jackson, Butte; ex. com., C. A. Lindsay, J. B. Knight, Samuel Mulville, all of Butte.

NEBRASKA.

OMAHA.—Omaha single tax club. First and third Sunday, Gate City hall, cor. 13th and Douglas sts. Pres., Rufus S. Parker.

WYMORE.—Henry George single tax club. Pres., H. C. Jaynes; sec., J. A. Hamm.

NEW JERSEY.

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Meets every other Thursday evening at the National assembly rooms, 643 Newark ave. Pres., James McGregor sec., Joseph Dan, Miller, 223 Grand st.

FOREST HILL.—Essex county single tax club. Pres., John H. Edelman; sec., Geo. M. Vescelius, Forest Hill, Newark.

NEWARK.—Single tax and free trade club. Pres., C. B. Rathbone; sec., M. J. Gaffney, 43 Warren st.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 193 Hamburg ave. Meetings every Sunday evening at 169 Market street.

PLAINFIELD.—Single tax club. Pres., Jno. L. Anderson; sec., J. H. McCullough, 7 Pond place.

S. ORANGE.—S. Orange single tax club. Pres., E. H. Wallace; sec., Henry Haase.

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JANVIER.—Janvier single tax and ballot reform club. Alternate Thursday evenings, Janvier hall. Pres., W. J. Rice; sec., Sydney R. Walsh.

CAMDEN.—Camden single tax club. Pres., Louis M. Randall; sec., Wm. M. Callingham.

WASHINGTON.—Warren county land and labor club. Pres., H. W. Davis, Oxford; sec., John Morrison, Washington.

BATONNE.—Single tax committee. Chairman, Wm. R. DuBois.

PASSAIC.—Single tax committee of Passaic. Pres., Oscar D. Wood.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Business meeting, first Thursday of each month, at 8 p.m.; other Thursdays, social and propaganda. Club rooms, 73 Lexington ave.; open every day from 6 p.m. to 12 p.m. Pres., Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

Metropolitan single tax association. First and third Saturday evenings of each month, 490 Eighth av. Pres., John H. O'Connell; sec., Fred C. Keller.

Harlem single tax club, room 3, 247 West 125th st. Business meeting every Tuesday, 8:30 p.m. Whist and social evening every Thursday. Pres., Eugene G. Muret; sec., Chas. H. Mitchell.

North New York single tax club. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m., at 2840 3d ave. Pres., James R. Small; sec., Thomas F. Foy.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Business meetings Wednesday evenings. Club house, 193 Livingston st.; open at all hours. Pres., G. W. Thompson; sec., W. T. Withers, 11 Willow st.

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East Brooklyn single tax club. Meets every Tuesday, 8 p.m., 1263 Broadway, in Women's Christian temperance union. Pres., Herman G. Loew; sec., James B. Connell.

BUFFALO.—Tax reform club. Every Wednesday evening, Central labor union hall. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., H. B. Buddenburg, 824 Clinton st., E. Buffalo.

ROCHESTER.—Rochester single tax union. Wednesday, 8 p.m.; Sunday, 3 p.m.; 80 Reynolds's Arcade. Pres., W. Wallace; sec., Albert S. Campbell.

ALBANY.—Single tax club. Meetings every Thursday, 7:30 p.m. Pres., J. C. Roshirt; sec., George Noyes, 368 First st.

SYRACUSE.—Syracuse single tax club. 113 Walton street. Pres., F. A. Paul; sec., H. R. Perry, 149 South Clinton st.

POUGHKEEPSIE.—Single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 8 p.m., 226 Union st. Pres., W. C. Albrow; sec., F. S. Arnold.

AUBURN.—Single tax club. Mondays, 7:30 p.m., College hall. Pres., Dan. Peacock; sec., H. W. Benedict, 6 Morris st.

ELLENVILLE.—Single tax club of Ellenville. First and third Monday of each month, Canal st., over E. Bevier's drug store. Pres., Wm. Lambert; sec., Benj. Hull.

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NORTHPORT.—Single tax committee. Sec., J. K. Rudyard.

OWEGO.—Single tax club. Pres., Michael J. Murray; sec., J. M. Wilson, 304 Front st.

TROY.—Single tax club. Meetings weekly at 576 River st. Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martis, 576 River st.

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GLOVERVILLE.—Single tax committee. Chairman, A. P. Slade; sec., Dr. Wm. C. Wood, 30 S. Main st.

JAMESTOWN.—Single tax club of Jamestown. Last Saturday evening of each month. Pres., Adam Stormer; sec., F. G. Anderson, 300 Barrett st.

YONKERS.—The Jefferson single tax club, 13 N. Broadway. Public meetings every Tuesday evening at 7:45. Pres., Fielding Gower; sec., Wm. Young, P. O. box 617.

OHIO.

STATE.—Ohio single tax league. State executive board: Pres., W. F. Ben, 1638 Wilson av., Cleveland; vice-pres., J. G. Galloway, 263 Samuel st., Dayton; treas., Wm. Radcliffe, Youngstown; sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, room 3, 348 1/2 E. High st., Columbus.

CLEVELAND.—Cleveland single tax club. Every Wednesday evening, 8 p.m., rooms 301-2 Arcade, Euclid avenue. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., L. E. Steunon, 7 Greenwood st.

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Sunday afternoon, Club room, Bradford's block, n. w. cor. 6th and Vine sts. Pres., James Semple, 478 Central av.; sec., Walter H. Beecher.

COLUMBIA.—Central single tax club. Sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, 345 1/2 E. High st.

Columbus single tax club. Meets Sunday at 8:30 p.m. Pres., H. B. Swank, 51 Clinton building; sec., E. Hullinger.

Tiffin.—Single tax committee. Sec., Dr. H. F. Barnes.

GALLON.—Gallon single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. J. Snay, 103 S. Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., John Birch; sec., W. W. Kile, 108 E. 5th st.

AKRON.—Akron single tax club. Pres., Jno. McBride; sec., Sam Rodgers.

MIAMI.—Land and labor association of Miami. Pres., C. F. Beall; sec., J. T. Beall.

MANSFIELD.—Mansfield single tax club. Pres., Dr. T. J. Bristor; sec., W. J. Huggins, 44 W. 1st st.

TOLEDO.—Single tax club No. 1 meets at 119 Summit st. every Sunday at 10 a.m. Pres., A. R. Wynn; sec., J. P. Traversa.

YOUNGSTOWN.—Every Thursday evening, Ivorites hall. Pres., Billy Radcliffe; sec., A. C. Hughes, 4 E. Market st.

ZANESVILLE.—Central single tax club. Pres., W. H. Loughhead; sec., Wm. Quigley.

OREGON.

PORTLAND.—Portland ballot reform and single tax club. First Monday of each month, Real Estate Exchange hall. Pres., T. D. Warwick; sec., Wallace Yates, 193 Sixth st.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society of Philadelphia. Every Thursday, 8 p.m., 904 Walnut st. Cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.

Southwark tax reform club. Meets every Saturday evening at 8 p.m., at Wright's hall, Passyunk av. and Moore st. Pres., John Cosgrove; sec., H. Valet, 512 Queen st.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. Meets every 1st and 3d Sunday evening at 7:30 64 4th av. Pres., Edm. Yardley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 140 S. 24th st.

BRADFORD.—Single tax club, Hevenor's hall, 41 Main st. Meetings for discussion every Sunday at 3:30 p.m.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 522 Court st. Pres., Chas. S. Prizer; sec., Wm. H. McKinney, 522 Court st.

ERIE.—Erie tax reform league. Pres., W. G. McKean; sec., J. L. Babcock.

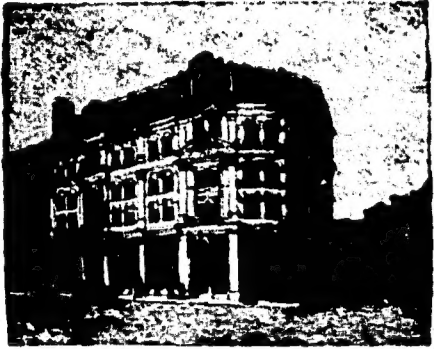
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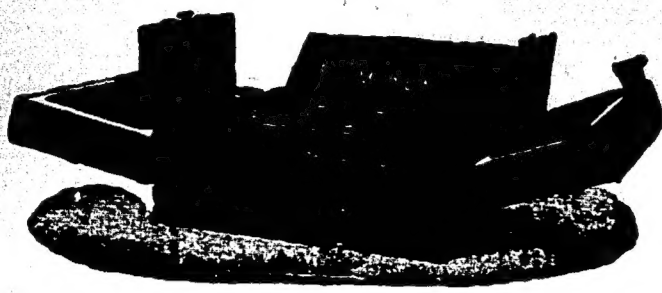
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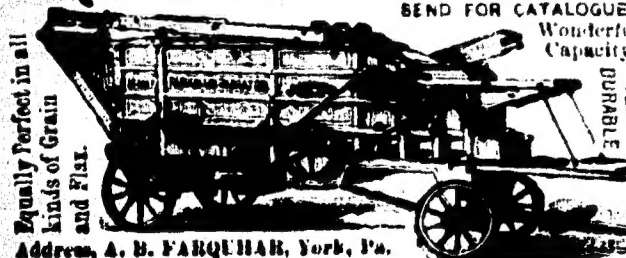
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